President.—We have other items of work also to be got through, e. g., the election of the non-official members of the Standing Finance Committee. I do not know whether it is advisable to sit after 5.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—A few of us have got another engagement; we have a meeting at 5-15 p. m.

President.—In the interests of health also, I think we cannot sit after 5 p. m. Health is of more paramount consideration.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—We are going to force upon the Government a division to-morrow. Our attitude towards the Government will be hostile, and we shall show to whomsoever concerned that our hostile attitude is justified; and that will take time.

President.—But should that keep us after 5 p. m.? Anyhow, on that question I do not come to any decision at present. We shall commence the meeting at 12 noon.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Instead of taking one hour for questions and answers, let it be cut short to half an hour.

President.—No, the rule says that the first hour is for questions and answers. But supposing the questions and answers are over before 12-30 p. m., then, of course, we shall proceed with other items of work.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—I shall suggest another means. Why not cut short the interval by half an hour?

President.—No, that does not seem possible.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Sir, allow me, please, to thank you for allowing us to make our own arrangements within our block.

President.—We will now continue the general discussion.

The general discussion of the Budget.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—"Mr. President, on the two previous occasions, when I had the honour to take part in the general discussion of the annual budget, my remarks were entirely a series of unmingled criticisms, on the general policy of the State administration, in so far as the Government's attitude towards the non-caste Hindu communities was concerned. On the present occasion, however, I am glad that the Government have afforded me some opportunities to season my adverse remarks with a few expressions of gratitude which, if I omit to do, I believe, I will be guilty of culpable negligence in the performance of my duty. At the outset, I beg leave to thank the Government for the steps they have been recently taking towards the amelioration of the suffering backward communities in the State. I understand that the Diwan was kind enough to

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issue a circular to all the Heads of Departments to entertain in service, as many as possible, of the unrepresented or poorly represented classes, and I am glad to find that they have promptly responded to the directions given to them, except in the case of one or two Departmental Heads, who, perhaps, interpret the meaning of the circular to be an act of administrative diplomacy, more intended for spectacular or advertisement purposes than for actual practical application. My thanks are also due to the Diwan of Cochin for the sympathy that he was pleased to show towards the Valan community of Narakkal and Nayarambalam to whom small bits of *poramboke* lands were freely leased out on low rents, on the understanding that they would settle down and cultivate those areas. The Government have also appointed recently a "Protector of the Depressed Classes", presumably to look after the welfare of these people. I may assure you, Sir, that however vehemently we may attack your policy, whenever we find it clashing with our interests, we are also ready with the same warmth of feeling to acknowledge every act of benevolence done by you to us. We are not a perpetual set of complainers, in season and out of season. The names of two of your eminent predecessors who have evinced sympathy for us are still remembered by us, and no power can root it out of the Ezhuva minds. It may not be out of place for me to mention in this connection that, during the time of the late war, the news of the disaster that happened to the steamer in which Sir P. Rajagopalachari was travelling was received throughout Cochin State by every Tiyyah with a thrilling heart; and the more religious among them made special offerings in their temples to their gods, for the safe return of their beloved patron. This is neither poetry nor exaggeration. And our people had peace of mind only when we received the news finally, that all was safe with that great soul. Another name which is still pleasantly remembered by us is that of Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, because that great philanthropist had a heart of pure gold, full of humane sympathy and willingness to do something for the suffering men, although in the course of his short tenure of office, he was not able to achieve much on account of various impediments that happened to be in his way.

I shall proceed next to my remarks about the budget. The transactions of the year 1102 have resulted in a large profit, and the prospects of the coming year are also equally promising. We may congratulate ourselves, if we like; or at least we can safely assert that we are conducting our business, on sound and profitable lines, if the administration of the State is to be viewed from the standpoint of business transactions. But

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the material prosperity of a country does not at all depend upon the amount of our savings at the end of the year. I would say, on the other hand, that this only means that more and more money is extracted from the people than is necessary for administrative purposes. And why do we want so much of peoples' hard-earned money? It is said that the larger the national debt of a country, the greater is the prosperity of its people, for it only means that so much more money is circulating among people, or that so much is spent for the welfare of the people. Great Britain, perhaps, has the largest national debt. Will we be justified from that alone, if we characterise the Government of Great Britain to be a failure? I know of no other nation in the world, which is more prosperous and more happy than the English nation. Why then, may I ask, do you take so much of peoples' money without repaying them all? I do not find any justification for your hoarding up such a large sum of Rs. 50 or 60 lakhs of their hard-earned money. And what is the condition of the people from whom you have accumulated so much of wealth? About ten lakhs of Cochin people, the huge majority of whom are poor labourers, have contributed to this large treasure. About one half of these men, you call backward or depressed classes. They are denied by you even the mere elementary rights of citizens, viz., to walk through the public roads, to drink the water of the public wells, to worship their gods in the public temples, etc. As a class, they are honest labourers who are directly or indirectly the agents who fill your public coffers. They never eat the bread of idleness. They are the cultivators of your paddy fields and cocoanut gardens, toddy drawers, fishermen and so on and so forth,—all who live by sweat of their forehead. And what is their economical condition? Most of them have no roofs even, to protect their humble families from the severity of the natural elements. Many of them are illiterate and ignorant; most of them have no houses or properties of their own. Many of them are entirely at the mercy of the Jenmi, at whose frown they tremble, at whose nod they have to run, for whose comfort they have to work hard, and for whose whims and caprices they have to sacrifice everything, living thus in a sort of eternal slavery and bondage. I ask you, what have you done, in the name of God, to emancipate these poor miserable fellow human beings from their sufferings? I ask you again, Sir, can you feel comfortable with your 50 or 60 lakhs of savings—whether in the Mysore Bank or any bank or no bank—when you see before your face, the half starved, ill-clad, miserable looking ocean of humanity, crying out piteously for

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succour at your hands? Do you not owe to them a duty—a duty—to save your fellow being from a state of extreme misery?

"Well, then, Sir, how are you going to solve this great problem? With your leave I may suggest one simple process. In this State, there are large areas of cultivable lands, lying idle either as *porambokes* or as Reserved forests. Exclude them from the Reserve and freely grant small sites to the families of backward classes with a reservation, if necessary, not to alienate them, for the purpose of cultivation and for locating their habitation. Do this on a liberal scale, and you would have brought all the present waste lands under cultivation, which would, in all probability, yield sufficiently to supply the wants of the people of our State. You have reserve funds enough in the State, to start more of co-operative and other societies and supply these poor people the means to purchase implements and cattle for the use of their cultivation. You would, then have done a great thing both before God and humanity; and perhaps, you can also save the country from the necessity of depending upon foreign food stuffs for the very existence of the people in the State. You have the necessary lands, you have also the necessary means, and you have also the potential energy in these vast multitudes of people. I pray you, Sir, make proper use of them, and you will have eternal bliss in the land.

You have recently made the appointment of the Protector for the Depressed Classes, and I thanked you in the beginning for the same. Excuse me, if I use a strong expression now; I do not believe in crocodile's tears or acts of administrative diplomacy.

President.—It is no administrative diplomacy.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—But it is my own sincere opinion, Sir.

President.—But mine is different.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—I am second to none in my appreciation of the ability and capacity of the Hon'ble Member for Education. But I am also aware that he is only a human being, and his time and capacity have also their limitations. Entrusted as he is with the onerous duties of one of the most important departments of the Government of Cochin, which alone will take up his entire attention and time, he finds it difficult to look after the affairs of the Development Board, and ever so many other things which the Government of Cochin have, with great mercy, heaped upon his head.

President.—The burden was willingly borne, and so he did not feel its weight.

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Mr. M. K. Raman.—In imposing a burden, we have also to consider the time at his disposal, and also whether he will be able to do full justice to his work. This work is very important.

President.—He has no complaint that the work is too heavy for him.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—If you ask him to do, he will do anything.

President.—Do you mean to say that he will undertake it? I do not think he will, if the work is so heavy.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—And now you have also made him the Protector of the Depressed Classes, and that too without any proper remuneration for the same. I wonder how the Hon'ble Member, after enacting all these divergent parts that are assigned to him in this drama, still finds it possible to get his time extended, and to continue his work so efficiently. I found, from yesterday's answers, as many as half a dozen persons had applied for the post of the Protector, and several of them themselves members of the backward communities. Besides, I understand that honorary workers also came forward to undertake it for the mere love of that sort of work. I fail to see why the Government could not have selected one suitable full-time person who would be able to devote his entire attention to it.

Another point which I wish to point out is regarding the temperance movement and the Excise Department. As the result of the joint endeavours of the non-official members of this House, the Government were pleased to remove the duty they used to levy on the tapping of jaggery toddy. Several members vehemently addressed this House about the drink evil and the means of eradicating it from our State; and the Government also expressed their approval of the necessity of bringing about prohibition in the end. I feel ashamed to admit that members of my community are responsible for a large share of this evil by tapping sour toddy and supplying it for sale. They do it as a means of their livelihood, and if they are deprived of it suddenly, some sort of embarrassment is sure to result. Social workers, therefore, have been suggesting the replacement of this profession by developing the useful industry of making jaggery which has none of the pernicious consequences of the other profession. The free licensing of jaggery tapping, therefore, will naturally make a decided step in the achievement of the object aimed at, both by the Government and by the non-official members of this House; and if I remember right, the Member in charge of the Department promised that he would be issuing these licenses without causing any unnecessary delay or diffi-

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culty. It grieves me very much to say that the lower authorities of this department are putting, as far as possible, as many obstacles, in the way of such applicants, as lie in their power. Complaining about such irregularities to the Head of the Department has proved still less effective. The administration of the Excise Department at present, I am sorry to say, is a mere pretence. Efficiency of the preventive force has become a thing of the past. The sound policy of lessening the drink evi is a good maxim only seen in the pages of the Superintendent's books. The horrors of the *Bharani* festival which has made Cranganur a place of notoriety, have been aggravated by the additional supply of alcoholic drinks, by the religious Excise Department, under the belief that, that commodity is necessary for the Saktheya worship of Deity.

"Before concluding I wish to make one more remark in respect of the unwillingness shown by our Government to take, into the higher service of the State, qualified members of the non-caste Hindu communities. I am unable to believe that higher service is the monopoly of the more favoured classes. When the retirement took place of the only individual who had the good fortune to toil up his way among the overwhelming difficulties, the whole of the community in the State unanimously clamoured for another to be taken into service from among the same community. But the Government paid a totally deaf ear to all such representations, and went on in its own indifferent way. But I shall not, however, say anything further about it on this occasion for various reasons. In conclusion I take this opportunity again to respectfully remind the Government that there is a very large body of men, far larger than the communities with which they are now chiefly dealing, who have also all the potential and vital energies of other human beings, who are now submerged and trodden upon by their more fortunate brethren, who have not as yet become fully conscious of the pressure which they have been subjected to for generations, and whose patience has never been known to be exhausted in spite of all these disabilities, humbly awaiting the dawn of the day of their enfranchisement."

Mr. S. F. Nunez.—Sir, this is the third budget session of this Council, and being also the last session, it is only in the fitness of things that we should make a brief survey of what the Council has been standing for in these three years. It is a matter of genuine gratification that it has been doing useful work; I am here echoeing the popular impression. Regard has to be had to the fact that our Council is in its infancy. In the first Council, we did very creditable work, and in the proper

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functioning of the Council, if any individual is more entitled to praise than others, it is the President of the Council who, even in moments of passion, when feelings were excited by his unruffled temperament and dignified composure, was able to pour oil on troubled waters and then allay the feelings; and if we were to examine the net result of what the Council did, we may not perhaps find very much. But here, on the floor of this House, the non-officials had ample opportunities to ventilate public grievances through constitutional channels, and thereby one dark spot in popular agitation in pre-council days, that is striking below the bulk—that method, I hope, has ceased to exist for all times—striking below the bulk by irresponsible columns of papers or by means of annonymous representations. Now, the fact is that we in Cochin are trained in a proper, progressive, democratic spirit through the medium of this Council, and it is indeed a great achievement.

Now, Sir, the Member for the South Ezhuva Constituency has stolen a march on me. I came here to speak a few words on the economic position of the Anglo-Indian community. In these three years, you might have had ample opportunities to know it, so thatI do not dilate much on the position of the Anglo-Indian community.

President.—Are there any shortcomings, after all, in your community?

Mr. S. F. Nunez.—That is not a question of shortcoming, Sir. On page 239 of the latest *Indian Year Book* of 1925-1926, the author says "at the present moment there is much distress among the Anglo-Indian community on account of unemployment". There are only two sections of people in India who suffer from unemployment, viz., the Anglo-Indian community and the educated upper middle class Indians. It was because of this growing social distress amongst the community that a deputation headed by Colonel Sidney went to England, and waited upon the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead. The programme of future work was outlined, and very serious attention was devoted on this programme by the Secretary of State as well as by the Under-Secretary of State. The programme that was submitted for the amelioration of the community included a grant of land to the members of the community to encourage agriculture amongst them. You will remember, Sir, that on more than one occasion in this Council, I had sent resolutions to the effect that lands should be given, as far as possible, to the Anglo-Indian community, so that whatever saving they may have may be invested in land. It is in consonance with this principle of ameliorating the position of the com-

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munity that, under the regime of Sir, A. R. Banerji, when he was Diwan of Mysore, that a colony of Whitefield was established for the Anglo-Indians in Mysore, and the Provincial Government of Madras also, you find, are granting large tracts of land in Coonoor and Ootacamund, which induces the Anglo-Indians to take to habits of cultivation and plantation.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—Whitefield is a colony which is 40 years old.

311 **Mr. S. F. Nunez.**—No doubt, we find a settled policy pursued by the Provincial Government of Madras as well as by our sister State of Mysore, and I hope that what Earl Winterton and Lord Birkenhead did towards the happiness of Anglo-Indians in British India would be attempted also by the authorities of the Cochin State. (*Hear, hear*). Sir, if you read the memorandum that we submitted to your predecessor, Ex-Diwan Mr. Narayana Menon, you will see that we have sketched the historical antecedent ever since the advent of the Portuguese in Cochin, and it is only a matter of historical truth that the Portuguese were invited by the then Raja of Cochin, who was then not on friendly terms with the Zamorin of Calicut, and had it not been for their interference, the history of Cochin would have taken an entirely different turn altogether. It is not my idea to panegyrise what the Portuguese did for Cochin, and I most humbly, most loyally, and most sincerely wish to recall the fact that, in our own humble way, our ancestors have done both in military fields as well as in other fields for the improvement and safeguarding and preservation of the State.

Now, coming to the budget in particular, I am glad that this year's speech of the Finance Member is even more detailed than last year's speech and presented in his usual lucid manner. A section of opinion may see in the surplus budgets of the last three years a very sound economic basis. It is true ordinarily, in normal circumstances, that Government should spend all that they get in the shape of revenues, but there are exceptions to every rule, and even in the dismal side of Economics where the laws are so rigidly established there is much room for exception. Now, here in Cochin, we are on the parting of the waves. I am not now referring to the social transition, the awakening that we find all around us. Even economically we are on the parting of the waves. In the previous administrations we had invested large sums of money in the Potteries and in the Tanneries and in other ambitious enterprises which, unfortunately, had belied our roseated expectations, and to-day, Sir, when you were asked by His Highness the Maharaja to take charge of the administration, you had to face the pro-

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blems that were handed down to you by your predecessors. The legacy that was left behind to you was indeed a legacy which, perhaps, you could not very much enjoy immediately, and the result was to follow a cautious policy. And though, in these days of democracy, in these days of modern idealism, people may not like to see the policy of wait and see, still, the policy of wait and see, the Asquithian policy, has its own advantages. We must make sure of our steps in the financial world before we commit ourselves to any big schemes. In view of the fact that large sums of money amounting to lakhs of rupees have to be spent in the Harbour and in the conversion of the Metre-gauge into Broad-gauge, one has to be very careful. The time has come to harness our financial resources as much as possible and for trying to strengthen our reserve. It is a matter for which all the people of Cochin shall have to be thankful.

Now, two departments especially have attracted the notice and the watch of the non-official members. These are the Education Department and the Public Works Department. The Education Department and the Public Works Department were running a neck to neck race, and the Director of Public Instruction has won the race at last, because the expenditure incurred in the Education Department is more than that in the Public Works this year. It has gone up to 13 lakhs.

Now, in the matter of education, we have to draw a line between primary and higher education. The cry is more for Primary education, and that cry is even heard in our State of Cochin where we have advanced enough in point of literature. I understand that the Hon'ble Member for Kunnamkulam has already submitted or intends to submit a Bill for compulsory education in Cochin. I, with my experience as an educationist, in a very humble way feel fully convinced that we have no need for compulsory education in the Cochin State except in the Taluk of Cochin where education has not progressed for very good reasons. There, perhaps, compulsory education may be necessary. (*Hear, hear*). And so far as commercial education is concerned, it is high time that the Government appoint a Committee to revise this course of secondary education as was done two years ago in the Madras Presidency, so that it might be of practical benefit to the High School boys when they enter into practical walks of life.

In the Public Works Department we find the amount spent on original buildings mounting up, and I would request the Member in charge of that portfolio to see that a programme is drawn up which would minimise the amount of money spent on these original buildings. As has been admitted by

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the Finance Member in his budget speech, what is of more importance or more vitally important to us is the question of irrigation. I am glad to find in this year's budget a sum of Rs. 16,000 set apart for investigation purposes, and I hope that the Head of the Department would see that the staff would work in a manner which would be more effective than the investigations made some years ago, and the report of the investigation would be translated into action by means of opening canals and a proper system of drainage schemes.

Now there is the Medical Department, and I am glad that what we had in the shape of arrears is at last being cleared away, and it is indeed an encouraging sign that the Government had at last made up its mind to wipe the full arrears in the course of a couple of years. In one matter, in the matter of supply of medicines, I am forced to utter a note of dissatisfaction. I, as a member of the Medical Sub-committee of the Special Finance Committee, had occasion to go round to the various hospitals of the Cochin State along with Dr. A. R. Menon, and our respected Chairman of the Special Finance Committee, and we found invariably in all the hospitals that the hands were not quite sufficient, and the medicine supplied was not also quite sufficient. It is, indeed, gratifying to see some provision made to increase the number of midwives, servants and also to increase the quantity of medicine. But the increase allotted for is not sufficient, and I hope that the Government would appoint a few more midwives, a few more nurses, and a few more servants, especially in the Trichur Civil Hospital where we find there is, in this matter, a great deficiency on account of which the poor patients suffer very much.

Now, as regards Sanitation and Conservancy, we find a really advanced line of policy in the right direction. In the last two bubget sessions, many Members criticised that nothing substantial was done for rural sanitation. That the Government intends to do something tangible in this line is really a very encouraging sign, and I hope that, before long, the scheme to combine the advantages of non-official opinion with the technical knwledge which the Government officers, who are experts, possess, would be drawn up, so that the people of our rural parts may enjoy better health and prosperity.

And here there is a matter which I wish to bring to the notice of this House, and that is the present working of the Panchayats. In the present working of the Panchayats, they want money from the Government, but there is no spirit on the part of the people themselves, and in fact the reason for the failure of the Panchayats is to be traced to this lack of proper

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spirit on the part of the people themselves. Now, the Panchayat is a steppingstone for popular government, and if, in the small field of popular self-government, people cannot manage that amount of proper responsibility, then, I say it is high time, as Dr. A. R. Menon said, that we abolish this Council and all the Panchayats also. Now, popular government entails not only proper privileges but also the realisation of popular responsibility, and that is a thing which our people are lacking in. I hope that this House would bring an amendment to the Panchayat Regulation, and see that a certain amount of taxation is enforced in all the Panchayats.

Thanking you for your kind indulgence in granting me more time, I beg to resume my seat.

President.—You took only twenty minutes, and so no thanking is necessary.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Sir, I came to this House with the idea that I shall not take part in this annual ritual; for you, Sir, have told this House with pointed reference to my speech last year on this occasion, in the course of that memorable statement that you were pleased to make last year at the budget session, to use your own words, "that you have grown grey in the service of the State, and do not really stand in need of any advice". But when I consider this is the last occasion when I may have the liberty to speak without any reservation, I think it is not fair to miss this opportunity to follow the practices of all free countries in showering encomiums on the Government for things they had done and drawing their attention to things they had not done. This House will remember that I was among the first at the first budget session to congratulate the State on its high good fortune in having as its Diwan a son of the soil with the requisite talent, experience and character; but this House will also remember that last year I said much more was expected of our gifted Diwan, and I could not, from the nature of the case, mince matters, and had of necessity to call a spade a spade and to describe things as they are—not in a milk and water fashion, but with due strength and emphasis. I am glad you acknowledged in your statement that you too come like ourselves from the people, are of the people, and work for the people. But, Sir, all human beings are not perfect, and there are imperfections both in you and in us. May I request you, Sir, to bear in mind kindly that, when we pointed out the irregularities and shortcomings of the Government hitherto, according to our light, we were only discharging our painful duty at consideable risk? But to-day, on the occasion of the last budget, we are to appreciate your work as President and Diwan as a whole.

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Sir, the Chair was not always a bed of roses, and it had its caresand anxieties. The duties of the Chair were very onerous, and were often likely to be easily misunderstood. I congratulate you, Sir, for the tact and the courage you have shown in this Presidential Chair. Last year I dwelt at length upon the shortcomings of the Government. In these days, when the Paramount Power is contemplating what shall be the future constitution of Native States, I am sure anybody who knows anything about Cochin and its administration and is not at the same time interested in maintaining the *status quo* intact will bear me out in regard to the reasons adduced by me last year for the immediate establishment of an Executive Council, and I am sure that alone will be able to make the Government stable and firm.

A budget is judged by the standard of promotion of the happiness of the largest number of people. The old theory that the duty of the Government ended in securing to its subjects peaceful life is to be given up, and active schemes are to be taken up to improve the economic efficiency of the people and increasing their wage-earning capacity. In the words of Mr. Ismail, the present Diwan of Mysore, "in all progressive countries of the world it is clearly recognised that the pressing questions of the moment are not so much political in the narrow sense as economic and social. Human welfare, for which, in a vague and general sense, governments were built, has now become in a precise and specific way a main object of government everywhere. The upbuilding of character and intelligence by providing opporttunity and instruction, the securing of comfort and prosperity through justice as well as philanthropy; the protection of the individual from disease as well as from attack are all tasks which demand collective effort." If we in Cochin are to reach this ideal, it is a long way off.

The solution of the economic problem is largely one of rearranging the various items on the budget so as to provide more money for wealth producing departments. The money collected from the poor people ought to be spent on reproductive and regenerating works of public utility. Lakhs and thousands are spent on buildings and on roads of doubtful public utility. Poverty rightly described as desperate is the root canker of the lives of the masses. Unemployment in the country is tremendous. The budget is one melancholy tale of stagnation. A popular government will have employed thousands of our intelligent young men in the task of the regeneration of the masses, and turned their great talent, which is running to waste, to good account in the cause of the country. While salaries, comparatively high, are paid in the higher ranks of those who have got into

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the service of the State, in the lower ranks a *living wage* is unheard of. Perhaps, it may be asked what is meant by the word "living" in the term "living wage". Life does not pass abruptly into death; between the one and the other, there is a manifold gradation of existence ranging down from absolute plenty to utter destitution. In an economic sense many men in Cochin are at a drowning point and just manage to avoid going down by clutching at a Providential straw.

The major portion of the revenue comes from villages, but the villagers are much neglected in the budget. The present budget provides too much money for the comfort of the urban population. The utter lack of sanitation in the rural parts of the State has to be emphasized. Everywhere one sees pools of stagnant water, roads unmended and unswept, houses of the poor in a tumbling condition, compounds overgrown with noxious vegetation, manure heaps lying in front of houses and men and cattle living side by side. The reorganisation of a large number of villages inhabited by peasants and labourers who are weak, disunited, disorganised and illiterate, and who live in a chronic state of poverty and indebtedness among most insanitary and depressing surroundings, is a venture to which funds have to be found immediately. Rural water-supply, roads and medical relief are to be vigorously attended to.

I think the future of the country, as it has been in the past, depends a great deal upon agriculture. "There is water, water everywhere but not a drop for Irrigation." For the last 50 years irrigation was totally neglected. All water that we got from rain ran in torrents and was not conserved. Our hardship was to get rain in proper season, and to that end water conserved in tanks will do a great benefit to the cultivators. Importance should be attached to minor irrigation schemes which were of great help to the agriculturists in the past. Many *poramboke* tanks throughout the State are silted up, and irrigation channels in Chittur are blocked or breached and the sluices and bunds not maintained in an efficient condition. I am glad you have made some provision for the improvement of all the Chittur Irrigation systems. If proper care was not taken in this matter, any assessment from land should not be collected. It was not a request but a contract on the part of the Government that they should make better provisions for the supply of water. The lack of water-supply deprived the villagers of even the primary amenities of life.

In the Department of Agriculture the allotments are announced rather late in the year, and there is hardly time to prepare the scheme and obtain the approval of the Head of the

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Department by which time the allotment lapsed. This allotment should be made non-lapsable. Agricultural schools might be started under agricultural management. Night schools might be encouraged by providing liberal grants. Handbills giving agricultural education may be broadly and widely circulated. Manure depots, may be opened throughout the State. Fine seed and agricultural implements may be made easily available to the ryots. Agricultural demonstrators should visit every village to instruct the villagers as to the manure to be used and as to the methods of seedling and the kind of implements to be used. Small agricultural loans should be freely advanced. In the Department of Co-operation too, the guiding hand of the Government is not visible. Co-operation is the only solution of the economic problems confronting the people, and the department has to be fostered.

Money has to be found for the improvement of the social position and literacy among the submerged classes. It is a national loss to keep them down and their uplift will be a national asset.

Brother Councillors, I am glad that the bitter experience of the barren record of two years of life of our Council has taught us the need for determination and hard-headed alertness, and I am sure we feel the need for greater self-effacement in bringing about unity. It is refreshing to find we are changing to a more patriotic and wider outlook. There is so much to be gained by union and every day we are losing so much by our differences and dilatoriness. I am anxious that our "Progressive" party should widen our limits, and even in this Council in which 30 out of 45 are filled by election, it should be possible for us so to organise the opinion of elected Members as to be able to speak after full collective deliberation with practically one voice on all questions upon which the weal and woe of our country depends. I hope that during the next few months we shall join in an earnest endeavour to better organize and unite public opinion of our people which is the only weapon with which we can fight the distressing evils of the existing system, and which, if it is sufficiently instructed, organised and determined, will exert an irresistable pressure upon the Government to remedy those evils and to expedite establishment of full responsible government in a larger measure than many of us at present imagine. If we are to be true to the name of our party, we must gird up our loins and play our best part in the regeneration of our country, march boldly along with unflinching courage, dropping all that is rusted and out of date, utilise all our opportunities for the good of our country, and then our progress and welfare will be

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assured. If we have faith in ourselves, there is no task which unity, associated effort and steady constructive work cannot accomplish.

Lastly, Sir, may I request you to convey to His Highnes our beloved Maharaja our extreme gratitude for having inaugurated this Council which is the beginning of popular government in Cochin? And may His Highness be pleased to associate the people of Cochin in an increasing messure with the government of the country, for which act His Highness' administration will be cherished with pride by posterity. May the Divine Providence give His Highness full health and vigour and a long life for the guidance of the State along progressive lines.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Sir, the best form of government is admitted to be the government of the people by the people for the people, and the most important feature of such a government is that the executive should be subordinate to the legislature. But in our State, which is considered to be an enlightened one, we find the reverse order existing, namely, it is not the legislature that guides the executive, but it is the executive that guides and controls the legislature. That the executive should be brought under the legislature is of utmost importance for the well-being of the people and the progress of the State, and until this is achieved, the Legislative Council will not be able to safeguard well the true interests of the people.

It is really regrettable that, advanced as we are, we are lagging behind in political reforms. We feel proud to say that we have advanced far a-head of British India in education. The percentage of literacy in our State is almost double of what it is in British India, and, if, therefore, the test of literacy, which is one of the most important tests applied for introducing representative government, is applied, we will be found fit to march in advance of British India in constitutional reforms. The charge that the people of Cochin are not politically awake cannot reasonably be laid at our door. The Legislative Council has been in existence in British India for a number of years, and in spite of it, if we compare the percentage of votes polled at the elections in British India with the percentage of votes recorded in our State in the very first election to the Legislative Council, we note our percentage is much higher than that of British India. So, in the test of political consciousness of the people also, we have scored the point. It is stated in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government that, to grant further constitutional reforms in British India, let

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the peoples' representatives show a willingness to co-operate with the Government. Sir, that we have been co-operating with the Government for promoting the prosperity of the State has been admitted by you, and testified also by His Highness the Maharaja. So, what is wanted by His Majesty's Government in British India, we stand fulfilled in this State. One other obstacle for granting further Reforms in British India is stated to be Hindu-Muslim disturbances. The deep loyalty and patriotism of our people have enabled us to live peacefully, in spite of the differences of opinion and faith we have on matters relating to politics and religion and caste, and the plea of riots cannot be urged against us. We are proud to say that we stand fulfilled all the conditions necessary for granting responsible government, and it is getting late, I should say, for making the executive responsible to the legislature and thus introducing responsible government.

It is now about a year since we submitted in this House the draft constitution for the better government of Cochin, signed by 28 out of 33 non-official members of this House, and mark it, whether His Highness' Government have taken any favourable action thereon has not yet been known to the people or those who have signed and submitted it. Does it not show that the present government is not responsible to the people? In addition to what was presented by the Council Members, there were public meetings held at different parts of the State and resolutions passed asking for further constitutional reforms. But with all this, the Government have not moved an inch, and the time has therefore come for us to take a strong and united action to change the present system of government and make it responsible to this House.

Though this Council was inaugurated with high hopes, I regret to state that subsequent events have proved that these hopes have been falsified. Even the limited powers conferred upon this House have not been allowed to be utilised fully on account of the retrogressive policy of the present government. The Standing Orders are not strictly observed by the Government. The Rules of the Council are interpreted in a narrow and restricted sense. We have entered our protest against the unauthorised interference of the executive in matters relating entirely to this House. The long delay in answering interpellations, the unsatisfactory way the questions are answered, the numerous questions that are left unanswered at every meeting, the refusal to follow the ballotted order of resolutions, the neglect to give sufficient time for non-official business at every session, the refusal to give effect to the resolutions passed by this

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House, are only some of the many matters against which we should enter our most emphatic protest.

The so-called untouchables form a very large proportion of our population, and they are steadily sinking in ignorance and poverty, rolling in dirt and illness and labouring under many vexatious restrictions and unreasonable prohibitions. Our Government have been recently attempting to make the people outside think that the Government are doing much for the elevation of the so-called untouchables. But one who dives deep into this matter cannot but observe that there is too much of window-dressing in all this. Will any government, which are serious about protecting the interests of the untouchables, lay down very high tax qualification for nominating members to the Village Panchayats? To have tax qualification for nominating members to Village Panchayats is an unheard of thing in any enlightened State except Cochin. The untouchables are not given admission in some of the schools maintained out of public funds. Again, hundreds of tanks and wells maintained out of public revenue are not open to them. Note, again, that, out of many acres of land that are being assigned to the people from year to year, only very few acres are given to the landless and poverty-stricken subjects. To fill up the cup of misery, they are not, by our Government, given the same rights and privileges which are enjoyed by cats, dogs and pigs in making use of all the roads and thoroughfares which are under Government control. Any administration which allows to keep down a large part of its people cannot rightly be called an enlightened one. The administration which does so is committing a great injustice and sinning against society and humanity. While Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) Vijayaraghavachari was the Diwan here, knowing the injustice done to this portion of His Highness' subjects, he followed a vigorous policy for the uplift of the so-called untouchables, but in the period of his successors, a policy of reaction set in. The scheme submitted to the Government on the eve of the departure of Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) Vijayaraghavachari by a responsible officer of the State for the elevation of the so-called untouchables, after an lapse of many years, has not yet been put into practice by our Government. This shows how inactive our Government have been in the elevation of the so-called untouchables. It is not the appointment of a Protector of the Depressed Classes that is most important but a sympathetic and generous policy for their elevation. Instead of opening all roads and thoroughfares which are under Government control, the Government are budgetting amounts for opening new roads for Pulayas and Valans. This is an unstatesmanlike

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policy, and it will only help to perpetuate inequalities and untouchability and unapproachability put the mark of inferiority and degradation on them, and this policy should be condemned.

That the policy followed by the Excise Department is not acceptable to this House was proved at the very first session of this Council. While other governments are realising the mistake of making the liquor traffic a source of revenue and taking steps to reduce consumption, our Government, like the Rip Van Winkle, is sleeping undisturbed. In the budget before us, we find the income from this source has, as usual, increased, and from the figures of the quantity of the liquor consumed, we find there is no reduction in consumption. It was stated in this Council on behalf of the Government that the Excise policy of the Government is one of maximum revenue and minimum consumption. On examining the income and consumption, we find that the Excise policy is one leading to maximum consumption. The Hon'ble Member in charge of the department professes that our Excise policy is the same as that of Travancore. It is a wonder that the officer who says this is ignorant even of the existence of a Vigilance Committee in Travancore.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—There is no such committee there.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Yes, there has been.

The Hon'ble Member who repeatedly says that we are following Travancore may be surprised to know that the consumption of liquor per head in our State is about double of what it is in Travancore. The Diwan of Travancore in his address to the Assembly two years back stated that the Government of Travancore have accepted the suggestion that a reduction of 5 per cent in the number of both abkari and toddy shops should be made, and have done so at the beginning of the following official year. Have we done this? When we come to this departmental allotment, I shall speak more on this subject, and let me now say that our Excise policy is one leading to the ruination of the poor and illiterate people, and it is untenable, unjustifiable and condemnable; and if this present policy is not changed, the people of the State will be morally and materially ruined.

Steady expansion of education has been a redeeming feature of the administration of our State; however, it should be remarked that the amount provided for the education of the so-called depressed classes is not sufficient for the purpose. While reviewing the educational policy of the State, we cannot but refer to the unwillingness and refusal of the executive to give effect to the decision arrived at in this House after long deliberation.

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This House passed a resolution to throw open Government Hostels to all classes and communities, but the Government have not yet fully given effect to this resolution. The Government are carrying on an experiment in this matter. If the resolutions passed by this House, are dismissed like this, I wonder what is the use of this House?

Another drawback of our educational policy is that sufficient emphasis is not laid on adult education. We have only a limited number of libraries and reading rooms receiving grant from the Government. A large portion of those people who receive only primary education fall back into illiteracy, and the money spent for giving primary education in such cases should be counted as money wasted. To prevent this waste, in Baroda and other countries, village circulating libraries are established, and we have also to do semething in this line.

Coming to agriculture, one cannot fail to note the absence of a definite and consistent policy as regards irrigation. There is no special officer in charge of this work. Under Revenue, under Village Panchayats, and under Public Works Department, allotments are made for irrigation, and this shows how haphazardly irrigation work is carried on. This House had passed a resolution for allotting a large amount for irrigation, but the irresponsible executive, without fully realising the importance and nccessity of following a definite, consistent and well-defined policy as regards irrigation, dismissed the resolution without taking proper action. It is as a result of such irresponsible actions of the uncheked bureaucratic government that the agriculturists, who form the bulk of the population in the State, suffer to-day. The only remedy that I have to offer is to make the executive responsible to the legislature composed of the representatives of the people elected on a very wide franchise.

That favouritism is a feature of the present administration has been referred to more than once in this Council.

President.—You are not justified in using those words. You should be very careful in the words you use. Gevernment is not showing any favouritism.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—I state what has been repeatedly stated in this House from the non-official side. It was admitted in this House by a responsible official Member that to give appointments not even written applications are necessary. May I ask what does this show? Because of this and other similar noval actions, efficiency is being sacrificed, with the result that the administration has fallen into the hands of a few, who do not look to the best interests of the people. It is with such an administration that we, the representatives of the people, are brought into contact,

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and we have been working for so long with the pious hope that the administration could be improved by pointing out the defects and shortcomings. But now, we have been made to realise that it is not the case, and we have, therefore, to consider the necessity of changing the policy. In this, whether we succeed or not, we have to make the people outside understand that we are not a willing party to carry on the administration as it is to-day. As this Council has no real powers, it has become another drain on public revenue, and that is why we to-day ask either to mend or end it, and mending is that what we desire. I wonder why should a Council with the representatives of the people exist, when it is refused to be let known to them even as small a matter as the period for which the Diwan, the chief executive officer, is appointed. Whether the Council is mended or ended, it will be well for the State, if those at the helm of affairs in the State understand the meaning of the political maxim that no government can exist without the consent and co-operation of the people, and further that the subjects of Indian States have the right to appeal to the Paramount Power.

I have to express, on behalf of the people in my constituency, our humble thanks to His Highness for receiving a deputation and graciously granting our request to extend railway communication as early as possible to Kunnamkulam, which line the Malabar District Board have agreed to exend to Guruvayur, where exists a very important Hindu temple to which hundreds of people go every day. We hope that Government will soon take up this work and complete it. Extension of railway communication is very important for the progress of the country, and steps should be taken to extend the railway communication to other parts of the State as well. In this connection it should be mentioned that a non-official member from this House should be sent to the South Indian Railway Committee representing our Government. The Diwan is now a member of the Committee, but he does not generally go to attend the meetings of the Committee. The representatives of the people should be associated with such and varied other matters of the State, so that at the time of granting of responsible government, they might not be found wanting. In conclusion let me say it is our desire that His Highness' name be made memorable in the political history of our State by granting further constitutional reforms and widening the franchise and making the executive responsible to the legislature, and that this should be done before you, a son of the soil, lay down the office, so that your name also may stand associated with the establishment of responsible government in our State.

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Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Mr. President, Sir, a study of the year's budget reveals the utter helplessness of the Legislative Council to influence the decisions of the Government. and declares the supremacy of the executive in all governmental actions. The Council was emphasising the development of agriculture and industries, and was pressing for more money for irrigation ; the Council was also requesting to increase the usefulness of Panchayats and Co-operation for the economic development of the people. If you compare the budget for the year 1101, the last of the Cochin budgets before the advent of the Council , with that of the current year , you will find almost the same items of expenditrue in all the nation-building or development departments ; but you will find an abnormal increase in the expenditure in the draining departments with the Department of Pubic Works topping the list. There is a very heavy increase on buildings which are more of luxuries than of necessities. The future of Cochin depends mainly, if not entirely, on the development of agriculture and industries. The present system of working the Department of Agriculture is very unsatisfactory, and must be changed handle and blade; it does no benefit to the ryot, and serves only one purpose, that of proclaiming to the world that Cochin also has an agricultural department. What are the results of the agricultural experiments conducted for the last ten years,and how have they improved the agriculture of the country? Has the department done anything except to pay big salaries and to maintain some cattle and to cultivate some grains and vegetables as any ordinary farmer does? Can the Superintendent of Agriculture lay his hands on his breast and say " my department has been responsible for the introduction of such and such new crops in the State, for increasing the average yield of the land, for bringing under cultivation large acres of land which were lying waste and for bringing into the use of the ryots at least an infinitesimal portion of the millions of gallons of water which our rivers are wasting into the sea "? I wish he was in a position to say so. Coming on to industries, the Government do not seem to hold any definite views. The figure to its credit in the matter of industrial achivements is not a big zero but a big minus figure amounting to lakhs. The Government would not make an earnest and whole-hearted attempt to improve the lot of the industrial enterprises that were dying instead. You, Sir, abolished all your industrial enterprises in the beginning, then abolished the separate entity of the Department of Industries itself, and to crown all, abolished the seat of Industry and Commerce in this Council as if they were a negligible factor in the development of the State. My

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resolution for a lump provision of 2 lakhs of rupees for the development of irrigation, although it was accepted by this Council in spite of strenuous opposition by Government, was unceremoniously brushed aside with scant courtesy. It passes my comprehension how some of the items of expenditure that you propose to incur under the heading "Irrigation Proper" in the budget can come under that heading. Is the construction of a bathing ghat in the Vadakkanchri river an item of irrigation? Perhaps, it is an irrigation of the body, certainly not of land. (*Laughter.*) The construction of a pier for the Enamakkal Dam can become an item of irrigation only by a great stretch of imagination. You said at the last budget session that Government have got several schemes ready at hand. Why then spend Rs. 16,000 for fresh investigation? How is it that the Tannikkudam scheme which was figuring so prominently in the previous budgets disappear all on a sudden from the scene? How is it you have no proposals to make use of the plentiful supply of water of the Manali and Kurumali rivers for the development of agriculture in those regions? Who is responsible for the waste of more than Rs. 15,000 on the Trikkur road and Rs. 22,000 on the abandoned Kurumali Bund?

The allotments for Panchayats are very meagre, and very often, before the estimates are approved, the year will run out, and the allotments generally lapse. Why not you make the Panchayat items non-lapsable?

In the matter of Co-operation too there is a want of efficient supervision. Very many societies are not functioning successfully. The status and number of the Inspectorate has to be improved. Compare the niggardliness shown to these useful and developing departments with the lavishnsess of expenditure on the foster child of the Department of Public Works! I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a small incident that took place during my school life. A class-mate of mine asked me if I knew what was meant by "D. P. W." On my saying "no" he said the three letters stand for "Department of Public Waste." With all the innocence of a student I believed his interpretation of the letters, and continued in that belief (*Laughter*) for years, after that. When I came more worldly, I knew that the letters were meant to indicate "Department of Public Works", and now I am forced to conclude that the words "waste" and "works" are synonymous. (*Laughter.*)

President.—If you are not going to get yourself removed of that impression, I cannot help it. It is still the "Department of Public Works".

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Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—I beg to be excused for this small diversion. What was Rs. 1,16,549 for "buildings original" in 1098 has risen to Rs. 2,86,321 in 1101. It is clear that Government is impervious to public opinion. The executive is able to impose its will on the legislature. Out of necessity the elected Members have to be in opposition to expose the executive in all its nakedness. The existence of an executive which cannot be removed by the legislature is not calculated to produce harmony between the executive and the legislature, and without harmony between the two, efficient government is impossible. To ensure harmony an elected legislature requires an executive responsible to it and removable by it. The constitution has to be developed as rapidly as possible on lines which would provide for national expression. There may be seemingly insurmountable difficulties; it is the test of statesmanship to face them and with unswerving patience and undiminished faith to overcome them. Our beloved Maharaja, on the day of the inauguration of this Council, gave expression to the hope of His Highness that the representatives of the people and the officers of the Government will work in complete unison with mutual trust and sympathy and co-operation. I despair in vain to see any such feeling on the part of the officers, though the elected Members of this Council tried their best to make the Council a useful instrument, although we were divided in the early stages, to some extent, on communal lines. Dictation from the official side and uncomplaining submission from the non-officials is not to be the pet notion of co-operation.

We are fully aware that the intrusion into the politics of religion must be resisted as a primitive idea disastrous alike to religion and politics. The vast bulk of our people are utterly indifferent to and unaffected by the proportion of representation either in the legislature or in the public services secured to them from a communal standpoint. The right type of administration is what matters most to them, and so long as the officers of the Government and the legislature in the Council are persons trained to look at problems in a spirit of justice and fair play and dispense redress to claimants as between man and man without any reservation of favour or prejudice against one community or another, the average voter and the voteless man in the street have little to grumble about. But there are sections of educated men with political ambitions in all communities to whom the communal ladder affords an easy means of scaling towards position of power and affluence in the land. The communal problem in a politics is largely of their creation. Why should the

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Government show favour to particular communitiesin the matter of appointments and condemn a man for his birth ? The principle of representations for communities in the public service of the country is one which is practically impossible to enforce, and which, even if possible of enforcement, is fraught with incalculable friction and heart-burning between community and community. The members of the public services are, in the discharge of their responsibility, called upon to hold the scales of justice evenly as between man and man, irrespective of the communal denomination to which the persons they deal with belong. Such a standard of dispassionate impartiality is obviously impossible to be maintained, once the system of communalism is introduced in the recruitment of the services themselves. Every man of intelligence and merit, to whatever community he may belong, is an item of national asset and should be encouraged to his highest, and contribute his best to the fortune and good name of our common motherland. Merit and not community should form the real test.

Another sad feature of the budget is the utter neglect of the villages and the large provisions for luxuries of the urban population at the expense of the rural. To provide an expenditure of Rs. 55,000 for the luxury of the rich at Ernakulam, another Rs. 10,000 for a music shed for the girls of Ernakulam, and another Rs. 25 000 for a few planters of the Nelliampaties is heart-rending. May I request you to convey to His Highness our beloved Maharaja our utter helplessness, so that the future administrators of Cochin may take note of the grievances of the people in the framing of the future budgets of the State ?

Mr. E. Ikkanda Wariar.—Sir, I congratulate the Honourable Finance Member for the lucidity and clearness with which he presented the coming year's budget, but at the same time, I must confess my inability to congratulate the Government for the policy which guided them in preparing it. I raised my feeble voice of protest in the last budget session against the growing tendency of our Government at hoarding. But unfortunately for the country, it fell on deaf ears. I propose to repeat the same performance over again in the full hope that they will at least give them a fair amount of consideration.

Sir, not only did they not find their way to accept my plea for utilising a portion of the accumulated wealth on some productive and useful work, for the improvement of irrigation, extension of rural sanitation, the spread of the Co-operative movement, development of Agriculture and Panchayats and the encouragement of the Ayurvedic system of medicine, but they managed to more than treble the anticipated surplus by raising it from

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Rs. 1,45,000 to Rs. 5,05,300. I am afraid that this tendency for hoard ing is becoming a mania with our Government. Sir, I will not be so uncharitable as to insinuate that it is because our destinies are not presided over by foreign Diwans. I do hold that our indigenous Diwans are always better than foreign Diwans. To me the truth appears to be that our present Government are too cautious.

President.—Well, Mr. Wariar, is not caution a virtue?

Mr. Ekkanda Wariar.—Yes, Sir. But to be always governed by overcaution is no virtue. They content themselves in following the old groove. They are not bold and energetic enough to take any risks and embark on any new schemes of development, lest they should meet the fate of some of the thoughtless schemes of foreign Diwans. Allow me, Sir, to tell them, in all humility, that the old order of things is changing every day, that the problem of unemployment and the abject poverty of the masses are staring us in the face, and we are faced with a situation which requires some careful and bold handling. But this by the way. I repeat the questions that I asked in the last budget session of the Council, and which the Government probably did not think worth their while to answer, namely, "Why should the Government collect more than what is needed, and if they propose to collect more than what is needed, why should they not spend it for the amelioration of the present deplorable economic condition of the people?" I am sure that the Hon'ble Members will agree with me in thinking that our present surplus is more than sufficient for a stormy day.

Sir, it gave me very great pleasure to learn from your remarks on the budget speech of the Finance Member that the poor and the down-trodden in the State were able to capture a corner of your heart. It is a well-known fact that we are becoming poorer and poorer every day. Our daily wants increase by leaps and bounds. The adventurous traders from outside are ever busy, for their own advantage, of course, in exploiting our weaknesses and placing all sorts of luxuries which we can ill-afford to have, at our doors and is tempting us. We are losing our power of resistence inch by inch. Our earning capacity is deteriorating day by day. The poor, half-starved lads in rags running about the streets, their starving mothers and sisters, with pale faces and sunken eyes sitting idly in the front *veranda* of their unthatched huts by the side of roads waiting anxiously for the off-chance of their husband or brother coming after their work and brawl in the toddy shops with a few coppers, are familiar sights to all. It could not have failed to attract the notice of the fastest motorists. The sight of the large number of our

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boys and girls in gala dress going to and coming from the school with books in hand should not deceive us. The enormity of the poverty of that class of people can be gathered from the act that 40 per cent of the boys attending one of the premier schools of our State in one of our premier towns, I mean the St. Thomas' High School, Trichur, are underfed. The kind Headmaster would not have understood this astounding fact, had not the doctor who examined these boys revealed it to him. The poor agriculturists spend months in a year in idlensss for want of an occupation. Such, Sir, is the deplorable condition of the masses. The time at my disposal does not permit me to examine the causes that led to this deplorable state of affairs. The appointment of a special committee to inquire into and to investigate this growing evil will, I humbly submit, repay the time and money spent upon it. At any rate, a progressive State like ours cannot afford to shut its eyes over this any longer, and it is high time that the Government should take immediate steps to combat this evil.

Sir, you have kindly extended to me an invitation to offer helpful suggestions of a practical nature to guide the financial policy of the State. I, therefore, propose to avail myself of that invitation and venture to make one suggestion which, according to my lights, is practical, and will prove helpful in ameliorating the economic condition of the masses. It can be included in your programme of rural reconstruction, but I may say it is so urgent that it cannot afford to wait until you prepare a full fledged scheme for that purpose. It is this. The Government should evolve a scheme by which they can organise hand-spinning in every nook and corner of the State, and introduce it in every house. It occupied a proud and honourable place in every home once. It was flayed alive by our conquerors for their own purposes. It gave our masses an occupation which, without tearing the agriculturists from the soil, can provide work for his idle hours and make substantial addition to his daily income to the extent of at least 25 per cent to the general agricultural income. The extra income from spinning will add to our average national income, nay, it may even double it. It is the best and cheapest cottage industry. Once it was a universal cottage industry. In fact it is the only cottage industry. I can convince any sceptic about its economic soundness, but I am afraid that the time allotted to me will not permit me to attempt it here now, and I also do not know whether the Hon'ble Members will have patience enough to hear me in full. I shall, therefore, pass on with the remark that, from my own personal experience gained in this humble work in the last 4 or 5 years, I make bold to

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assert that, if once the people are made to understand its real economic value, they will take to it earnestly, and stick to it tenaciously, and that, if they do so, a family of 5 persons can easily make 10 to 12 rupees a month during their idle hours.

I would, therefore, suggest to the Government to utilise a small portion of the accumulated surplus to organise hand-spinning throughout the State. If you want a precedent, which you invariably demand whenever a proposal not exactly to your taste is made, you have one in the really progressive State of Mysore which is doing its best to spread this noble and life-giving industry throughout the State. I am not posted with the details as to the way in which they work out this laudable scheme. But I shall immediately place my humble scheme for the consideration of this House and the Government. This is the scheme that I propose. There should be one spinning school in every village. There must be a class with at least 24 *charkas*. The course of training to make one an expert spinner will require only three months. So one teacher can train 4 batches of students in a year. Admission should not be limited to any age. Preference should be given to older people. If there are not sufficient rooms to conduct classes from 10 to 4, classes can be conducted in the mornings and evenings. In that way a village will be able to train up 100 experts in one year by one class. If there are more *charkas*, they will be able to give instructions to more. The Government should also keep a depot in the High School or Lower Secondary school to which the spinning class is attached. The depot should be put in charge of the Headmaster there, and it must be able to supply model spinning wheels, and cotton, to purchase yarn from anybody who offers to sell and also to sell them to the best advantage or to convert them to cloth.

President.—Should we go into all those details now?

Mr. I. Ikkanda Wariar.—Sir, if it is not necessary, I shall stop. I am prepared to convince the Government that it is a very practicable and feasible scheme which can be carried out at very little cost, and which will be able to improve the economic condition of the poor people to a very large extent which no other industry can do within so short a time and with less cost.

President.—We shall rise now.

The House rose for lunch and met again at 3-4. p. m.

President.—Mr. Salem, you want the first chance. But I have some doubts to be cleared. We have got only two hours more available for the general discussion, and I think it will be ard if the official Members are not allowed an opportunity to

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explain what they have to say in regard to the criticisms levelled against the working of their departments. Last year, I think, they were allowed some time, and in this year also I wish that some time is given for their replying to the criticisms. Anyhow, they have a duty to explain, but whether their explanations are satisfactory or not, is another matter, I would like to know whether it is possible to allot any time for them out of the remaining two hours.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—In the Rules it is specially stated that in the discussion they are not given a voice for reply.

President.—In order that both sides of the case may be represented, they also must be given an opportunity. What is the use of levelling criticisms against the working of the departments without giving an opportunity to them to explain their position?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We have considered this very point, and I made it a point to mention to the Secretary to the Diwan whether this course would be acceptable to him, viz., to note at the discussion time the criticisms levelled against each department and to reply them in the opening speeches on their respective demands. They may give us the replies, if they think necessary. As soon as they apply for the demand, they may meet all the criticisms levelled against the department in their introductory speeches. In that way they all get a chance too.

President.—It will take a lot of time.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—In the Mysore Legislative Council, it was not the custom. But they have introduced it now. This year in the proceedings the officials are given a voice in participating in the discussion.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Here also we had the opportunity for giving some explanation to the various criticisms levelled against the officials. We form a body here, and I do not know why they alone should be given the privilege. I have some explanation to give, and when I move for the demand only 20 minutes are allowed. So I think it will be fair, if an opportunity is given to us now.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Rule 48 (2) on page 6 reads thus: "The Finance Member shall have a general right of reply at the end of the discussion, and the President may, if he thinks fit, make any remarks". It clearly says that the Finance Member alone has the right.

President.—He has his right. He made a speech, and the President made his remarks. Now, you see, a reservation is made in his favour that he can reply. In the case of others, one speech is allowed to one Member and not more.

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Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—The Council has the right to discuss the budget as a whole, i. e., comprising all the non-official and official Members. At any stage of the discussion, all non-official Members can speak.

President.—It is only proper that the official Members know all the criticisms. Unless all the non-official Members have spoken, they won't be able to know what criticisms are levelled, so that their turn comes last. Otherwise they might have to anticipate some of the criticisms, in which case they will not have a right of reply. It has been the convention in this Council, although we have been workin only for two years. They are being allowed some time for their reply at the fag end of the day to come forward with their speeches. I remember it was so last year.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Have the Government Members a right to discuss the budget on principle?

President.—They will also discuss. What is it that you have been discussing? They will also do that. They won't go to items.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—Discussion does not necessarily mean adverse discussion.

President.—Of course, it would be a grievance, if they are not given a right of reply. They may say "We have been here and subjected to a lot of criticisms, and, if we got an opportunity, we would have satisfied the Members" and so on and so forth. So we would be doing them a grievous wrong, and I cannot do it, and hence the time of the non-official Members will have to be very much cut short. They may engage in discussion till 4 o'clock, the remaining one hour being given to the official Members. Some of the Departmental Heads will have to come forward with their replies, e. g., the Public Works Department, Education, Forests, Medical, etc. I suppose the Police Commissioner also will have to say something about his rank and file. That department has also been dealt with. I hope you all agree with me in doing so.

Mr. Salem will begin now, as he has been already recognised by me as the first speaker.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, I mean to confine myself to grounds that have not been broken at all. I, therefore, begin to tell you, Sir, that Cochin, as it develops, will furnish the brightest chapter in its chequered history of coming back to freedom in our land, and that that freedom shall be measured by the struggle that we make for it. Sir, you have opened the gates for reform, and sooner or later it must have its appointed end.

President.—It is a plant of slow growth.

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Mr. A. B. Salem.—I do not say it will end. I will make my point clear. It must have an end as an aim, and that end is the achievement of freedom. Now, it remains to be seen whether the Government of Cochin, whatever that may mean to-day, are willing to take part in that achievement by the people or whether they will leave it to the people of Cochin to wrest it from them unwillingly. That will be the point for you to consider and for you to choose. Sir, it has been said that constitutional growth must take a long time. It has been said that we are only in the third year of our life towards self-government, and so on. I beg to differ from you all, officials and non-officials, who hold such an opinion. This book is the *history of Kerala* by the late Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. I. It will well repay a perusal. I refer to pages 250 to 269—observations on *Visscher's Letters*. There you will find, Sir, the history of the National Assemblies that existed in this land, how they have come to an end, how we are seeking to revive them by calling together a Legislative Council. There, you will find how this very land of Cochin was governed before the Powers-that-be extricated it out of popular control. I have tried to develop this argument for the general public in a series of articles that have been published in *the Hindu* of the 16th June, of the 2nd July and of the 17th July 1927.

President.—Two articles?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No, Sir, three.

They have been intended not only for the purpose of our own people's eye being caught to them, but also to catch the eye of those whose eye we must catch, if we are to have that freedom in this land. That is my object. Sir, there is no use of hiding the fact that, behind the screens in the political stage of Cochin, there is a power which we cannot ignore. It is for us to satisfy tthem that we are fit to govern ourselves and to look after our own affairs and comforts as a whole. Both the Government part and the non-official part of Cochin have to satisfy them before we are allowed to have a greater field for the achievement of our object in the land. Now, Sir, I implore you, the powerful half of this House, to co-operate with us to achieve this end, because, without your co-operation, it will be impossible for the people of Cochin to attain that end. It is for you to tell the Power-that-be whether we are fit or unfit. You are a person whose opinions will be valued more, at this stage of the development of the country, than ours. Therefore, it is, Sir, that we come willingly here not only to criticise you downright as much as possible, but also to co operate with you and to strengthen your hands in our struggle. You are part

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and parcel with us. You have no case here (although we criticise you departmentally) that you do not belong to us. You are as much in the prison house as we are. Therefore, to get out of that should be the object of us both. That is the right spirit.

President.—Your place is open to me. I may be with you to-morrow.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—You may be with us to morrow, but (pointing to the official block) it will take some more time for them to come over to this side.

Now, Sir, what had we in the past in the land of Cochin? We had every unit of administration. These are the units that we had. We had *Taras*, *Nadus*, *Desoms and Koottams*.

President.—Do you mean *Karas*?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No Sir, I mean *Taras*.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—In the Chittur Taluk alone we have *Taras*. In other parts we have *Karas*.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—*Karayogam* is different from *Tara-yogam*. Then there is the *Nadu* or district, and there is the *Koottam*, just as the Legislative Assembly of to-day. Now, Sir, our case is that we are not asking for anything new; we are only asking to revive the ancient control that existed in the State. In this connection, it tempts me to read to you, Sir, a few lines from this book regarding these village republics :—

"The highly artificial constitution of the assemblies, the rules by which they were worked and the means of punishment resorted to enforce the attendance of its constituent members, all point unmistakably to a long-standing institution which acted as a strong weapon in the hands of the people to defend their rights and privileges against the unwarranted aggressions of the royal authority.

"A further reference by our author in his 11th Letter to these national assemblies and the manner in which they are held and the rules that guide them shows that they had existed in his day in the Cochin Raja's territory, and that their function was to check the arbitrary power of the Rajas".

Now the arbitrary power of the Raja means that of the Government of to-day. Let us see what further has been said here.

"Before its advancing might, chief after chief succumbed till the Travancore flag flew as far north as Cochin. It was not long before that the Raja of Cochin sought the aid of his late enemy, Raja Martanda Varma of Travancore 'in putting down all dignities in his country', a step resolved upon apparently to deal a death-blow to popular rights. That last clause of the treaty of the 12th Dhanu 937 M. E., 22nd December 1761, contained the following stipulations :—"The Raja (of Travancore) will assist me (the Raja of Cochin) agreeably to my design in abolishing the dignities of all rank in my country as also in the concerns appertaining to them'. In pursuance of this stipulation, the Raja of Travancore actively interfered in the affairs of the Naduvalies and chiefs of Cochin and compelled them to sur

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render their properties and rights to the Raja of Cochin, leaving to them only means sufficient for their bare maintenance."

President.—There the reference is to put down oligarchies.

Mr. S. F. Nunez.—The Rajas did not kill popular governments, but it was feudal aristocracy that did so.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I do not say that the Rajas killed. What happened was, exploitation was to go on in this land for trade purposes, and a trading company killed all the institutions of popular rights which defended themselves and got the upper hand. These institutions came to an end in 1761. Now, in 1927, we cry not for giving us anything new but only to revive to us in its fullest sense the institutions that we had. The *Taras* and *Karas* of old may be called our present Pancnayats, and they shall be developed. We are asking again and again to have a separate department for the development of Panchayats in the proper way, so that they may themselves look after local affairs. We are asking from this part of the House for Taluk Boards to be established, so that the districts may be looked after. We ask you again and again, times without number, inside and outside this Council, to give us a chamber of popular rights, and our privileges shall be guarded fully with some policy. That is our policy, as far as the constitution is concerned. To-day we have this Council Regulation—Regulation VIII of 1098—in which "our Government", is not possible of being defined although you and I understand it. So let us have a Government of Cochin Act. The word will be defined there. The legislature is nothing but the representation of the whole people crowned with His Highness the Maharaja. It is a mistake to think that His Highness stands apart from the legislature; he is part and parcel of us. The legislative body takes part in the sovereign function and passes legislation, as Bills, which, when they receive His Highness' assent, become law. The executive must be made responsible to the legislature. His Highness has got executive as well as legislative powers. He is the fountain of power from which the judicial and legislative parts of Government emanate. Legislation takes in people's representation and asks what they wish to do. That is what the *Koottams* were doing at that time. Chieftains and ministers were always punished for unwarrantable acts. That is what we ask you, *to give us control over the Government of Cochin.* Cooperation you ask from us; we ask from you ministerial control over the officers, so that their work may be done most efficiently and in accordance with popular opinion and policy. Heads of Departments now conduct themselves as if they are part and

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parcel of the Government. They are only servants of the Government. They must be controlled by the legislature which mean the representatives of the people and His Highness. His Highness calls all these persons (Members of this House) to assist him in the discharge of his functions of legislation and control.

President.—They are servants of the people.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—They are not servants of the people, but they are servants of the Government. They have got delegated authorities to carry out their functions. They need not have any part in shaping the policy. They are to look after the welfare of the people. I have no case regarding that. But servants should not be masters, and masters, should not be servants. This is a servant-master government. The servants are masters. They sometimes say "we are not prepared to answer you". We calmlysubmit to it, because we have no other help. A minister elected from this side of the House and representing the Government side will not dare to give us such an answer. If he does, out he will have to go the next day, from his position of power. Can we send any one of these Government Members out? No. Under the present circumstances, however much we may say, they are permanent fixtures here.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—In Madras Ministers refuse to answer certain questions.

Mr. A. B. Salem—And we understand why that answer comes from them. It is because that answer cannot be disclosed in the interests of the department which he, the Minister, represents. We welcome such an answer, because we feel that they the Ministers, are part and parcel with us. The Minister comes there in the interests of the people, on the vote of the people, upon the consent of the people, and upon the vote of the party in power. May I ask under whose vote do you come here? Upon your own official position, is the correct answer. (*Hear, hear.*) And you do not stand one with us. The minister does. When he says that he cannot answer such and such a question, we take it with folded arms and open hearts. How can we take such an answer from you, when you refuse to put a paper on the table of the House? We do not know. We have no confidence in you, and you have none in us. Therefore, there is no justification to create a Legislative Council like this, the like of which exists nowhere in the world, nowhere where people know a shadow of their rights. We have got our own rights. I want to arouse the people to the situation and make them understand what it is to have power in their own hands. Their salvation lies in their own hands. This Council must be either

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ended or mended. We mean no disparagement to the givers of this Council. They gave us what was best in their view. But this does not satisfy us. They do not know our dissatisfaction and agitation for further advance, and it is left for you to guide us through the proper channel.

Only one word more. Sir, there is no use of telling us that the budget is a balanced budget or surplus budget, and so on. The budget is devoid of any scheme for tackling unemployment, for industrial activities, for tackling the poverty question. Taxation goes on without representation here. You collect about 18 lakhs odd rupees by the Excise Department, which makes money by the degradation of the people of Cochin. From every house you are taking away the poor women's and children's food, because their husbands spend it in toddy shops, and therefore, we are eating into their vitals like a canker, and that department should be dispensed with, and the Diwan Peishkar asked to collect that revenue from the portion necessary for medical purposes. You can then save much. Of the Agriculture Department, there is no necessity for me to say much. It has already been characterised as a waste. Do away with it. By the abolition of the Forests and Tramway you can save nearly 4 lakhs of rupees. The Forests and Tramway need not be allowed to remain as they are. The Tramway may be leased out, and you can allow the forests to grow freely without the cruel and wild hands of the Conservator going into their roots. They will not go away from there; they will not wither away. They will stand there, and the teak trees will grow. The department is a fraud on the treasury. I shall prove it to you by concrete facts and figures that the department is a losing concern. Our tax-payers' money is being utilised for no good purpose of the tax-payer. Therefore, it is that I say "do not increase the burden of the people by increasing tolls, various and lavish reforms, etc.; do not close your doors against them. Reconstruct villages and establish co-operative dealings in every village. Move for a Statistics Department, a Commerce Department and do away with the inequalities that exist in the State, and you shall have a satisfied people." Otherwise it will be carping waste. There will be no good-will between this half and the other half, and the gulf between us will widen. We do not know what will happen, if all these are known to the people. When once the many-headed hydra fumes, there is no force in the world that can control it. It wants the control over its officers who get their pay from the contribution that you get from the people unwillingly. Even the elementary principle of government—not to tax the people with-

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out representation and without their consent, is conspicuously absent here. When I come to the cuts, I shall have more opportunities to speak on this point.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ശങ്കരൻ നമ്പൂതിരി.—സർ, ഈ സഭയുടെ ആലോചനയ്ക്കു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ആയ വ്യയക്കണക്കിനെക്കുറിച്ചു രണ്ടു വാക്കുപറയുന്നതു ഉചിതമായിരിക്കുമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതു സ്റ്റേറ്റിന്റെ ധനസ്ഥിതി ആശാസ്യമായ വിധമാണിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നു സവിശേഷം തെളിയിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ മാസം അവസാനിക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ കൈയിരിപ്പുസംഖ്യ ൪൫ ലക്ഷത്തിൽ നിന്നു ൫൫ ലക്ഷമായി വർദ്ധിക്കുമെന്നാണു കാണുന്നതു. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള പൂർണ്ണസംഗമമായ അഭിനന്ദനത്തെ ഒന്നാമതായിപ്രദർശിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

രാജ്യക്ഷേമകരങ്ങളായ കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം സംഖ്യ ചിലവഴിക്കാതെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ കൈയിരിപ്പുധനം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതായ ആവശ്യമെത്രത്തോളം ഉണ്ടെന്നു ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടതായ ഒരു ഘട്ടത്തിൽ നാം എത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു. തുറമുഖംമുതലായ വലിയ ഏർപ്പാടുകൾക്കു അധികംസംഖ്യ പുതുതായി വേണ്ടിവരുവാൻ ഇടയുള്ളതിനാൽ സൂക്ഷിച്ചു ധനം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണമെന്നു ചിലർ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുമായിരിക്കാം. ഈ അഭിപ്രായം അത്രമാത്രം ശരിയാണെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ആവക ഏർപ്പാടുകൾക്കൊന്നും ഈ സംഖ്യമതിയാകുന്നതുമല്ല. മറ്റു പരിഷ്കൃതഗവൺമെണ്ടുകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതുപോലെ ആദായകരമായ വലിയഏർപ്പാടുകൾക്കു വേണ്ടിവരുന്ന സംഖ്യ കടംവാങ്ങി കാലക്രമംകൊണ്ടു കൊടുത്തുതിർക്കുകയും നാട്ടിലേക്കു ക്ഷേമകരങ്ങളായ ചിലവുകൾക്കു കുറെക്കൂടി സംഖ്യ കൊല്ലം തോറും നീക്കിവെക്കുകയും ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണു എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം.

ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ കൈയിരിപ്പു സംഖ്യക്കു വർദ്ധന ആണെങ്കിലും അതും നാട്ടുകാർക്കു പറയത്തക്ക ഉപയോഗമൊന്നും ഇല്ലാത്തവിധത്തിൽതന്നെയാണു വന്നുചേരുന്നതെന്നു വാസനപൂർവ്വം പറയേണ്ടിവന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. ചുരുങ്ങിയ പലിശക്കു അന്യരാജ്യക്കാർക്കുകൊടുത്തുവരുന്ന സംഖ്യയിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗമെങ്കിലും കൊച്ചു രാജ്യത്തെ കൃഷി വ്യവസായങ്ങളുടെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കു ഉപയോഗമാക്കേണ്ടതാണു. ഈ സംഗതിപല അവസരങ്ങളിലും ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽപെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതാണെങ്കിലും ഒന്നുകൂടി ആവർത്തിക്കുന്നതു ദ്വേഷമാം ആവില്ലെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചാണു ഇപ്പോഴും പറയുന്നതു. കൃഷിവ്യയായി ഗവൺമെണ്ടു ഇപ്പോഴും കുറെ സംഖ്യ കൊടുത്തുവരുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ല. പക്ഷെ അതിൽ മിക്ക സംഖ്യയും പ്രബലന്മാരായവക്കല്ലാതെ ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. ആ സംഖ്യകളിൽ അധികഭാഗം കൃഷിക്കായി വിനിയോഗിക്കപ്പെടുന്നമില്ല. പ്രവൃത്തിയെടുത്തു ഉപജീവനം കഴിച്ചുവരുന്നനാട്ടുകാർക്കു വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം ഉറപ്പുകൊടുത്തു സംഖ്യവാങ്ങാനുള്ള പ്രാപ്തിയും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ല. അതിനുള്ള തുണി

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ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽതന്നെ അവർക്ക അധികാരസ്ഥന്മാരെ കണ്ട് കാര്യം സാധിക്കുവാനുള്ള ശേഷിയും കുറവായിരിക്കും. ഈ വക കാരണങ്ങളാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുചെയ്യുന്ന സഹായങ്ങളിൽ മിക്കതും സാധുക്കളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ഉപയോഗശൂന്യമായിട്ടാണ് വന്നുചേരുന്നത്. ഇതിന്റെ പരിഹാരത്തിനായി പരസ്പരസഹായസംഘങ്ങൾവഴി സഹായം ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഏർപ്പാടുചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള സാദ്ധ്യമാണെന്നുംകൂടി ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. ശരിയായ മേൽനോട്ടം ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് പല സംഘങ്ങളുടേയും നടത്തിപ്പ തൃപ്തികരമല്ലാത്ത വിധത്തിൽ വന്നുചേർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിനുവേണ്ടിടത്തോളം ആളുകൾ ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിൽ ഇല്ലെന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനുതന്നെ ബോധ്യപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതായി ധനകാര്യമെമ്പറുടെ പ്രസ്താവനയിൽനിന്നു വ്യക്തമാവുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇപ്പോഴെങ്കിലും ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടി പതിഞ്ഞുകാണുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു അധികം വിസ്തരിക്കണമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ല.

രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ക്ഷേമൈശ്വര്യങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുന്ന ഒന്നാണു കൃഷിപഞ്ചായത്തു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു. ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിന്റെ ആവശ്യത്തിലേക്കായി മൂന്നുലക്ഷത്തിലധികം ഉറുപ്പിക ഇക്കൊല്ലം ചിലവഴിപ്പാനും ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു കാണുന്നുണ്ടു. ഇതിൽ വലിയൊരു ഭാഗം മേലുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളത്തിനും ഒല്ലൂക്കരെയുള്ള മാതൃകാകൃഷിത്തോട്ടത്തിന്റെ സംരക്ഷണക്രമമായി ചിലവഴിപ്പാനാണു നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെങ്കിലും ഒന്നോമുക്കാൽ ലക്ഷത്തിലധികം ഉറുപ്പിക ഉൾനാട്ടുകാരുടെ ഉപയോഗത്തിനായി നീക്കിവച്ചു കാണുന്നതിൽ സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നു.

പട്ടണവാസികളുടെ സുഖസൌകര്യങ്ങൾക്കു ചിലവഴിപ്പാൻ ലക്ഷക്കണക്കിൽ നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുള്ള സംഖ്യയും ഉൾനാട്ടുകാരുടെ ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാത്ത ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപയോഗിപ്പാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു കാണുന്ന തുകയും കൂടി തട്ടിച്ചുനോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ നില പക്ഷപാതരഹിതമായിട്ടാണെന്നു പറയുവാൻ വഴി കാണുന്നില്ല. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ആസ്പത്രികളുടെ ചിലവിലേക്കു മുന്നു ലക്ഷത്തോളം ഉറുപ്പികയും ആയുർവ്വേദ വൈദ്യശാലകളെ സഹായിപ്പാൻ പതിനായിരത്തിൽ ചിലപ്പാനും ഉറുപ്പികയും ആണല്ലൊ ഇക്കൊല്ലം കരുതീട്ടുള്ളതു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷു വൈദ്യം ചിലപ്രത്യേക സംഗതികളിൽ അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കാമെങ്കിലും നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിൽ സാധാരണയായി കണ്ടുവരുന്ന മിക്ക രോഗങ്ങൾക്കും ആയുർവ്വേദ വൈദ്യം തന്നെയാണു ഫലപ്രദമായി കാണുന്നതു. ഔഷധങ്ങളുടെ വിലക്കും വളരെ കുറവുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട ആയുർവ്വേദ വൈദ്യശാലകൾ വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു പെരിയ നിലയിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നവർക്കു വലിയ സഹായമായിരിക്കും. ഈ വിഷയത്തിലേക്കു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധപതിയുവാൻ കാലം അതിക്രമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു മാത്രമെ ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ.

ഈ ആയവ്യയക്കണക്കിനെക്കുറിച്ചു സാമാന്യമായി ഇതിലധികമൊന്നും എനിക്കുപറയാനില്ല. മറ്റു ചിലപ്രത്യേക സംഗതികളെ

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ക്കുറിച്ചു പറവാൻ നമ്മുടേ മറൊരവസരത്തിലേക്കു നീട്ടിവച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഈ പ്രസംഗത്തെ അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. O. R. Chummar.—Sir, as usual, we have now before us a surplus budget. But I have to congratulate the Government more for the excellence of the speeches made by the Finance Member and the Diwan-President than for the excellence of the budget itself.

The policy of hoarding up money has been condemned again and again by the various non-official Members of this House, and now I am inclined to believe that it is useless to reiterate that condemnation any further. The Finance Member has stated that, though our financial position is quite stable, it is necessary to hoard up money for a few years more. Next year, probably, the Finance Member would add that, in order to make our financial position more secure and to protect it against invasion of robbers, it is further necessary to dig a well and bury all our gold in it. Then our financial position will become as secure as that of our ancestors. Sir, in these days when all the enlightened States are borrowing money to carry out permanent works of improvement, why we should hoard up four or five lakhs of rupees every year, sacrificing even the most urgent and indispensable works of improvement is something which I cannot understand. This is a policy, Sir, which can never be condemned too strongly.

It is indeed gratifying to learn that the Government are going to formulate a scheme of irrigation works to be carried out in the course of the succeeding years. But nobody knows when that red-letter-day will come, and why should we wait till then to carry out works which everybody realises to be absolutely necessary and unavoidable?

To give an instance, I can see no reason why the Government should have postponed the raising of the Manappattu chira in Malayattur village. It has been under the consideration of the Government for a very long time, and in answer to one of my questions in this Council, the Government have supplied us with facts and figures which show that, if the *chira* is raised by 6 or 7 feet, not only rice cultivation can be extended over a large area of waste land, but also that the Government would be able to recover about 10 per cent per annum upon the investment. In *the Administration Report of 1101*, it is said that the scheme was under consideration when the year closed, and as the Government had completed the survey and obtained facts and figures which clearly pointed out the usefulness and necessity of carrying out this scheme, I confidently hoped that provision would be made for that in this budget. But I was

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sadly disappointed. Again the cry of the people of Vellarappilli for a bridge over the Chengal canal is an old one. Many a time I have brought this to the notice of the Government and the Government have stated in the Council that they would take up the work when the funds permit.

May I ask the Government when they would be able to spare funds for carrying out these works of absolute necessity? May we know for how many years more they are going to hoard up money like this? How many lakhs of rupees should they have accumulated, before they would formulate their scheme for work of improvement? Sir, the reasons given by the Government for not carrying out these works are not at all satisfactory. Our present financial position is sufficiently strong to permit us to make better provisions for irrigation works and for communications.

On the other hand, the provision made for buildings is far too excessive. For "Buildings-Original", a sum of Rs.3,30,000 is provided, while for "Irrigation—Original" only Rs. 94,000 is provided. The figures are stifling. Some of these buildings like the paying ward in the General Hospital and the new buildings for the Girls' school, Ernakulam, and the G. T. School, Trichur, could have been and should have been put off until the more pressing irrigation works are carried out. The budget provides Rs. 40,000 for the construction of the paying ward, Rs. 51,000 for the new buildings for the Girls' School and Rs. 36,000 for the G. T. School. We can very conveniently get on for some time more without these costly buildings. If the construction of any of these buildings is put off, for sometime, the Government can construct a bridge over the Chengal canal even, if they would not spend anything out of the accumulated surplus.

Another point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is with regard to the industrial education for girls. They are now taught, music, needle works, embroidery, etc., in the industrial schools. But they are not given sufficient encouragement. The examinations conducted by the Government in these branches of girls' education are not recognised by the Government for any practical purpose. Even those who have passed the highest examination of the Industrial Department are not given licenses to teach in any of our school. This is an anomaly, especially, as these subjects are not taught in the training schools, and, if no value is attached to these examinations, no girl will have any attraction for these industrial subjects The education department should, therefore, recognise these examinations as sufficient qualifications for teaching. In olden

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days when the Industrial Department was distinct from ths Education Department, I can understand, if the rivalry between the two departments worked a bit to the prejudice of industrial schools. But now that these two departments are amalgamated, there is no reason why the Education Department should not recognise the industrial examinations as their own. If the course given in the industrial schools is not efficient, the standard may be raised. Anyhow, the Education Department should give some value to these examinations.

With these remarks, Sir, I resume my seat, hoping that the Government will not give occasion for the same criticism to be levelled against them by the new Council in the uext budget session.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—The speech delivered by the Finance Member, while presenting the budget for the year 1103, is remarkable for the expressions of self-confidence and self-satisfaction, because he has again been able to present a surplus budget to this House. He congratulates himself and congratulates others, and the Diwan-President has also thought it proper to congratulate him. But I very much regret that I cannot see eye to eye with the Diwan-President in this matter. I would certainly have done so, if we, the non-officials, here were a Board of Directors, and the Finance Member was presenting a balance sheet of the above nature. As has already been pointed out by many of the non-official Members of this House a surplus budget is in itself a very poor indication of a successful administration or of a prosperous State. It is a well-established principle of Public Finance that a properly balanced budget is the ideal to be attained in all civilised and properly administered States. If not for anything else, a surplus budget from the point of view of the tax-payer is a clear indication that the Government has not been able to find out new and useful methods of spending the amount squeezed out from them. Apart from all these considerations, situated as we are at present, I maintain that it is a folly of the highest magnitude to hoard up money like this every year, without spending them in developing the resources of our State. To-morrow the British Government, to suit some of their imperial designs, might launch on a new scheme of having broad gauge railway in every part of India or of having aeroplane service throughout India and call upon the Cochin Darbar to contribute thirty lakhs of rupees towards their share of the expenses. Then, if the Cochin Darbar take their usual slow process for consideration, reminders upon reminders would come, and within a month or two the final order would be "The British Government confidently hope that the Darbar will find

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the necessary funds immediately". Our usual method of shelving things by means of never ending deliberations and considerations will not avail against them. Therefore, it is that I maintain that we will be best advised in spending as much money as we could in developing the resources of our State by means of roads, irrigation canals, industrial undertakings, etc., rather than hoard up like this to be snatched away by others under some pretext or other.

Turning to the details of the budget, one is astonished at the lavishness with which the Government is spending money in the Public Works Department. The Member for Public Works seems to be the petted child of the Government. The Finance Member himself characterises him as running a race for expenditure with the Education Member, and I believe the race course also is smoother for him. But I am afraid time has come to put a break in his speed, lest the petted child should become the spoilt child of the Government. I will have no quarrel with him, if he spends large sums of money in making new roads or in opening new sources for irrigation. But I regret I cannot find my way to sympathise with him, when he demands Rs.10,000 for a music shed and latrine in the Girls' High School, Ernakulam, and Rs. 3,750 for a kitchen well and bath room in the cosmopolitan non-vegetarian section of the Kunnamkulam Hostel.

Another point to which I want to draw the attention of this House is the question of the travelling allowance. On a more or less accurate calculation, it will be found that, putting all the departments together, our officers draw Rs. 1,25,337 annually by way of T.A., that is to say, for every Rs.60 of our total revenue Re. 1 is spent for T. A. I am certain that this House will be entirely with me, when I say that in a small State like Cochin the proportion is certainly undesirable, especially, when we know that the benefit accruing from it goes mainly to the advantage of all the high-paid officers. Repeated representations have been made about this matter by a number of non-official Members on the floor of this very House itself, and yet in this year's budget no Departmental Head has made any appreciable reduction in the travelling allowance, while those like Agriculture and Panchayats, Military and Registration are proposing increased demands. I, therefore, appeal to the Members of this House in general, and to the Members of the Special Finance Committee in particular, to see if we cannot cut down the T. A. of our officers to a level when it will be just the expenses incurred by them.

I shall next proceed to a few observations about the administration of our State in the recent years, and then close my

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speech. Sir, there is a strong feeling all over Cochin that our present central executive administration is slow and inefficient, and I may even say people have begun to long for a change. Whatever be the merits and demerits of this proposition, while I have nothing but admiration for the servants of our present Diwan, I can most deliberately affirm that the present administration is too slow to move any matter, and I am also certain that in recent years acts of administrative brilliance have been extremely rare. I am not prepared like the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi to suggest that indegenous administration can never succeed in Cochin, but I most respectfully beg to think that so far it has not been a brilliant success.

I wish to draw the pointed attention of this House to a section in the Service Regulation, which says that persons in service should retire after completing their 55th year. It is really remarkable that, even after repeated representations being made in this House, this is still a section in Cochin that is more honoured in its breach than in its observance. At one time there was the instance of three persons past 55 having been newly started in our service. I cannot understand why the Government should insist on retaining these superannuated men in our services, when any number of fresh and young blood could now be had with the requisite qualifications to fill any place in our services.

Turning to the depressed classes, I cannot appreciate the half-hearted measure now adopted by the Government in the matter of the depressed classes. These lakhs of His Highness' subjects, ill-fed, ill-clad and uneducated, have been clamouring for a protector to look after their interests. In my view a full-timed Protector for Labour and the Depressed Classes should have been appointed in our State at least a decade ago. Now, when the matter has been brought to a pinch, it is my honest conviction that it would have been more honest statesmanship for the Government not to have done anything at all rather than thus create a place and add it on as an additional extra collateral charge to an officer whose hands are already full of multifarious other duties and to allot Rs.7,000 for the department, while you set apart Rs. 10,000 for a latrine and music shed. It is my point that the Government should appoint, as early as possible a full-timed and qualified officer, preferably from amongst the low caste Hindus to entrust the department to him with more liberal contributions. Only day before yesterday the Hon'ble Leader of the Progressive Party brought to the attention of the Government the miserable lot of thousands of labourers in the various estates of our State. Now, who is there to look after the

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interests of these miserable lot of people who are very often treated as worse than cattle. How many of them die being underfed, how many thousands of them die at the outbreak of an epidemic like cholera or small-pox without proper medical aid! How many of these poor people are deprived of their legitimate daily wages by the interference of middlemen! I, therefore, urge upon the Government the immediate necessity of reconsidering this question and appointing a fully qualified and competent full-timed officer to look after their interests.

Mr. I. E. Ambooken.—Sir, at the outset, I beg to offer my thanks to the Government and the Finance Member for preparing a surplus budget. But I am not prepared to congratulate the Government for the same. It is, I believe, the present policy of the Government to reserve money as much as possible even at a sacrifice of some of the pressing needs of the people. I do not understand why the Finance Member is so very anxious about the increase in the expenditure for Education, Panchayats, Irrigation, etc., when we are making a substantial surplus every year. What are we going to do with all our savings? When are we going to spend just sufficiently for the important items such as education, communication, irrigation, etc. To my mind, these are the most important items for the betterment of the people of the State as a whole, and the chief function of a good government.

After giving so much about the budget as a whole, let me say a few words regarding some of the departments.

Education.—As education is the chief factor in the progress of a country, I beg to offer a few remarks on the present administration of the department. From the statistics given in the recent *Administration Report* prepared by the department, any one can see that the main progress of education is mainly due to the efforts of private agencies. A statement given on page 5 showing the percentage of educational work done by different agencies engaged in education is as follows:—

	1100	1101
Government	37·6	35·3
Aided	56·3.	59.

From the above statement we can see that only about $\frac{1}{3}$ is done by the Government, and the rest is by private agencies. Such being the case, let us see how does the department act towards aided schools. To reduce expenditure on new schools and classes, the department was constrained to adopt all possible means of economy. The rules about the minimum strength for the purpose of grant were more rigidly enforced than in the past, and "wherever it could be done with-

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out causing hardship, Lower Secondary department of schools were required to work on half-time system". These are the words of the Director. After that he continues " there is no doubt a certain amount of popular prejudice against the shortening of hours of instruction in elementary schools. But this is bound to wear out". Again, he says, " it is necessitated by the limitation of funds at the disposal of the Government and the persistent demand for opening new schools". The system of giving aid for buildings, furniture, etc. have been practically stopped, though the section regarding the same is still in the *Education Code*. In spite of all these, the Government is still proclaiming that their policy is to encourage private agencies as far as possible. Here I wish to bring to the notice of the House that none of the above mentioned measures are strictly followed in schools conducted by the Sirkar, and in that way the Government is showing a sort of differential treatment towards aided schools. May I respectfully ask the Government whether we are justified in saying all these when there is a net surplus of not less than 48 lakhs of rupees? May I ask the Government whether we are providing sufficiently for the primary needs of the people such as opening new roads, improving irrigation facilities, rural sanitation, etc.? I am surely of opinion that, if we want the real progress of our State, we should pay more attention and spend more money for these items which are very important. If these items are looked after properly, then all the other items will look after themselves. I have pleasure to congratulate the Government for accepting the recommendation of the Special Finance Committee and thereby providing a sum of a lakh of rupees for enhancing the pay of low-paid servants. In this connection, I request the Government that, when distributing this amount, preference will be given to the menials who get a sum of Rs. 12 and below that. With regard to Panchayats, I wish to point out that it is a real defect, to have the qualification to become a Panchayatdar, there should be at least a tax of Rs. 25. This should necessarily be reduced to any amount of tax. Also it will be a great useful arrangement to have a conference of all Panchayats at least once in a year, so that they may bring in suggestions for improvements in the administration of the department, and I hope that the Government will take action for this at any early date. Lastly I respectfully request the Government that their attention should be paid more than at present to the rural areas of the State, since I believe the real progress of a country can be expected only, if their condition of life is brought to a happy and satisfactory level.

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Srimati T. Madhavi Amma.—I have gone through the budget speech patiently, and have since scrutinised both the budget and the speech. After two days — that is yesterday and to-day—I find myself unable to say whether I am in agreement or at variance with the budget. So long as the budget balances itself, the most serious objection is removed. But that does not take away all the objections. Good finance requires not only a balance of income and expenditure but also the display of discrimination and a sense of proportion in utilising public funds to the best advantage possible. If funds can be raised from an unjustifiable source or spent to an unjustifiable expense on one head to the detriment of another, then, the rules of Public Finance cannot be said to have been conformed to. Judged by this standard, I too stand now to point out to you, Sir, that this budget certainly falls short of the mark.

Although a fall in the interest of the money invested in the banks established elsewhere and a poor sum of Rs. 35 as interest from industrial loans are seen marked in the budget, a good big amount to cover the deficit has been calculated on the credit side for the coming year from ganja , opium, tobacco and other alcoholic drugs. This policy is one to be reviewed with more scrutiny, both by the Government and the people. On the disbursement side also the expenditure for secondary education goes a little bit high up the mark. But the sole purpose of this speech is not this. It is to point out to you the injustice always shown towards the female sex by this and one other department of the Government. Even from to-day's answer to one of my questions, you will find a female teacher suspended for no reason of her own but of the capricious behaviour of a previous manager of the school. I got hardly any time to ask then a supplementary question or two, as to whether she has been reinstalled and is still in the service. I hope the answers would not have been in the negative, if they were asked. The other department I have referred to is the Revenue Department. Sir, the Member in charge of this department is of opinion that a Proverthy Menon's post is 'not' a 'suitable' one for a woman of that rank. And I am here to give my consent to the demands of these two unsympathetic departments as well, in the name of those suffering sisters also.

Mr. P. Damodara Menon.—They won't be able to do Village Menon's work.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—The experiment is worth trying.

Mr. P. Damodara Menon.—What is the use of trying an experiment which I know will not succeed?

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Srimati T. Madhavi Amma.—On the contrary, if these funds can be diverted into more useful channels, such as reconstructing villages and spreading industrial training all over the State, that would have taken away a portion of their grievances, and would have helped them to stand on their own legs.

For the rest, I have sent cuts and shall deal with them in proper times.

President.—Are you for such a big building for the Girls' High School, Ernakulam? Is it necessary? Are we wasting money?

Srimati T. Madhavi Amma.—Is the Girls' High School going to be raised to a college?

President.—I cannot say anything.

The official members may take part in the discussion.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Varghese.—Sir, amongst the non official criticisms levelled against the Medical Department, those of the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur have dwelt on medical topics, and so, I shall advert to the points he has raised.

He inveighed against the arrears which have accrued in regard to the payments of the cost of medicines. A short history of the accrual of these arrears would, I hope, dispel any misgivings on the point. I have to take you back to the budget of 1094 from which it will be evident that only a sum of Rs. 6,306 out of a budget grant of Rs. 60,000 was expended under the head of "medicines". Looking into the records of that year, the following document was discovered—letter from the Comptroller of Accounts to the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer.

"With reference to your letter C. No. 2852/93, dated 12th August 1919, applying for a demand draft for Rs. 3,000, I have the honour to inform you that the Secretary to the Diwan writes to me that, owing to the reduction made in the revised estimate under "19, Medical—Cost of Medicines" by Rs. 50,000, the whole cost of the demand draft should not be charged to the current year s allotment. (Copy of his D. O is enclosed). I have, therefore, charged this year's account only with Rs. 4,260-14-0 and return herewith your bill for Rs. 40,739-2-0 for correction of the note made against month of bill and budget allotment".

This was the starting point of the payment of arrears. Another reason for the continuance of these arrears that I have been able to gather from past records is that the valuation statement of medical supplies imported through agents in Europe used to be received too late in the year for payment in the arrears, and consequently, since 1094 onwards to 1099 part of the allotments used to lapse year by year or be transferred for other

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urgent needs. When I got to the helm of the department in 1099 there was an unpaid balance of Rs. 32, 537 to Messrs. Ferris & Co. and Rs. 19,837 to Messrs. Peirce Leslie & Co., making a total of Rs. 52,374 in arrears. This is about the same sum which is outstanding now.

The second subject on which the Hon'ble Member dwelt at length was the studied opposition and reluctance on the part of Government to the employment of honorary doctors, and he regretted not finding any budget provision for them! The Hon'ble Member vehemently resuscitated arguments for not sending to Select Committee a Bill which was built upon tottering foundations. The Bill was not for the mere employment of honorary doctors, but it contained objectionable features which no sane government could countenance. It was proved to the hilt that it was a measure not for public but fraught with possibilities of abuse, and that the remedy was more pestilential than the disease. Does the Hon'ble Member lay the flattering unction to his soul that those who voted for the Bill did so from conviction of its soundness and utility? If so, I may tell him that I have heard from one Member who voted for it that he never read the Bill, and from several others that they voted merely because it was a party Bill. Further, I may say that I have not received application from any one highly or lowly qualified for honorary work who hadn't an eye on Government service. I am not aware that Government had committed itself to a binding to employ honorary doctors, and, so the reproach on Government of obstinate reluctance is unwarranted. It is true that I am personally in favour of the scheme of introducing to a limited extent honorary doctors in hospitals, if suitable hands are forthcoming, and this matter is engaging the attention of the Special Finance Committee, and when Government pass orders on their report, it is hoped that it would receive due consideration.

I shall pass on to a startling observation made by the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda that rural sanitation is an unnecessary expenditure in this State. Sir, this Legislative Council has the unenviable distinction of questioning the need of rural sanitation. It formed one of the questionaire issued by the Special Finance Committee. The Hon'ble Member who indited that memorable questionaire in the seclusion of his lordly palace, living as he does apart from the common herd of men, could afford to contemplate with equanimity the necessity of a sanitary department. His budget speech, however, drew a graphic and lucid picture of the defective sanitation in our rural

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parts. The gross insanitary condition referred to by him cannot, you will admit, be removed by the wave of a magic wand. Men and money are wanted to rectify those defects, and that is what is technically called the Sanitary Department.

But the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda has pronounced in this House that rural sanitation is an unnecessary waste of public funds.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—You don't understand nor you take the trouble to understand. I shall answer you properly tomorrow.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—May I, with your leave, draw your attention to Rule 25, sub-rule 2. A Member, while speaking, should not bring a personal charge against another Member.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Is there a rule here to the effect that the Chief Medical Officer can indulge in personal reflections? He says " sitting as he is in a lordly palace, careless of mankind , &c." Sir, I warned him once. Unless he behaves properly, I know how to teach him to behave in this Council. Without understanding or without taking the trouble to understand a statement, he indulges in personal reflections. Why is it that only one Head of the Department is given such liberty in this Council ?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—While replying, there was no necessity for the Member's name. It is only a general discussion —a general reply. He has no business to say "the Member for Cranganur," 'Irinjalakkuda ' and others. A general reply would be quite sufficient without indulging in the names of the persons.

President.—Personal remarks of an offensive nature cannot certainly be allowed. If there is any objectionable expression, and if it has affected the Hon'ble Member, I would ask the Doctor to withdraw such expressions.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Without understanding or taking the trouble to understand the statement made by me, he indulges in personal reflections. This is not the first time that he does so. I cannot help it. Unless you look to that, I would resign and go rather than submit to such an insult from any one.

President.—This is the last time that the Members are here for the budget session, and in your reply you ought to have been careful in not making references like "the Member for Irinjalakkuda living in a lordly palace".

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Vergese.—I did not. I never meant any insult to him. There was no reference at all.

President.—It is rather uncharitable that he should unnecessarily be found fault with. What is it that he said ? Please explain.

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Dr. A. G. Menon.—The shorthand writers may be asked to read what he said.

President.—He was referring to some questionaire.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Which is that questionaire ?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—That is of the Special Finance Committee inviting opinion as to whether the Sanitary Department is unnecessary.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Are you divulging the proceedings of the Special Finance Committee in this Council ? You yourself are responsible.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—The qustionaire has spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was published in the Gazette.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—The questionaire , Sir, goes in the name of the Committee. Why should you name a particular Member ?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Yes. What is the context ? Why should he mention " The Member for Irinjalakkuda."

President.—But anyhow, I think he never intended to cast any reflection on you.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—No. Nothing was mentioned by me against any Member sitting there. I never meant to cast any reflection on any one.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—You accept that ?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Very well, I accept that.

President.—I was rather taken by surprise. You have no cause for grievance ; he has not meant it and his expression does not amount to it. But you see, Dr. Verghese , he is rather sensitive, and if you cast any reflections, he feels it very keenly.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—I was going to make some observations—I have got my doubts—on some remarks made by the Member for Irinjalakkuda to the effect that rural sanitation is unnecessary in the State. If I am not right, I may be told so, and I withdraw.

President.—That question may be decided when the cut motions come in. Since it is likely to offend him, part of that speech may be removed.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—I have nothing more to add than saying that the time is too premature to hand over charge of the rural dispensaries to such bodies as the Panchayats.

President.—Have you not got something to say, Mr. Matthai ?

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Mr. C. Matthai.—Sir, with your permission, I should like to make a few observations on the remarks made by the Members in the course of the budget discussion on matters connected with my department. At the outset, I may say that it was not with unmixed gratification that I listened to the congratulations offered me by the Finance Member. For, I had a sort of feeling that, in complimenting me in the course of his remarks, his compliments carried with them a mild reprimand. I thought he regarded me and my friend on my left hand side as the two incorrigible spendthrifts of this House. And he said that, as regards capacity for extortion and extravagance, I defeated even my friend, the Chief Engineer. But at the same time it gives us both no small consolation that he has recognised that, though we are spendthrifts we, are so in a good cause. That is, no doubt, a source of comfort to us.

Now, Sir, to some of the important observations made by Members in the course of the discussion. There was one general observation made in regard to the apathy of the executive side of this House towards definite expressions of opinion on the part of the non-official side in the matter of resolutions passed in this House and so on. Well, Sir, I do not stand here to apologise for my friends on this side, as they are well able to take care of themselves, but, so far as my department is concerned, I think the House will admit, in reviewing the work of the department during the past year, that as much care has been taken as possible to carry out the wishes expressed by the non-official side of the House. I think that there could be very little legitimate complaint in regard to that matter.

Then there is another matter that was remarked upon much about. For instance, the Member for Chalakkudi said that, as regards apportionment of funds for the masses of the population, as regards the looking after of the educational requirements of the masses, sufficient attention had not been paid, and that a sufficient proportion of the educational funds had not been set apart for the education of the masses. He said, if I remember right, that more than 30 per cent of our rural school-going population are still outside the pale of schools. I think it ought to be a matter for gratification to this House, when I say that, during this year 1102, there has been considerable increase in the proportion of children attending schools. Those of you who might have perused my report of 1101 would have seen that we had then reached something like 77 per cent, i. e., 77 per cent of the school-going population of our State are now having the benefits of elementary education. I may state here one point by way of explanation. When we calculate the school

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going population, we take children from 6 to 11, and for the purpose of census 15 per cent of the total population is taken as the school-going population. It is on that basis that we draw up our statistics. But it so happens that there is a certain proportion of children beyond the age of 12 who are still attending schools and colleges. And, therefore, if you actually take the census of children under 12 years of age, you may not find 77 per cent attending schools. Making allowance for that deduction, I think I may safely say that about 66 per cent. of our total school-going population were attending schools. That was according to the statistics of 1101. In 1102, according to the figures that I have received after the commencement of this educational year, I find the proportion has increased to something like 86 per cent. That is, there is an increase of 9 per cent. I have got only the approximate figures. I think they are pretty, accurate; I may say with fair exactitude that the proportion now is something like 87 or 86 per cent; when we compare ours with the States surrounding us, I do not think there is any reason for us to be dissatisfied with the progress we have made. I have on previous occasions urged this ground in connection with the matter of compulsory education. I stated that even without compulsory education we were making fairly rapid progress, and therefore, it is only if other resources fail, that we need resort to compulsion. So that even the statistics of the year 1102 go to support that statement of mine. That, I think, should give some sort of satisfaction to this House.

Another observation was about the prohibitive cost of secondary and collegiate education. Well, there are two opinions on this. There are some authorities who hold that it is but right that secondary and collegiate education should be made prohibitively costly, because secondary and collegiate education are meant for the well-to-do classes. It is not meant for all, and those who want higher education ought to pay for it. We have been pursuing that policy, and even in regard to this matter, if we compare our State with Madras and Travancore, our rates are by no means higher. I think it is sound policy that well-to-do people, when they want to have higher education for their children, ought to be prepared to pay for it. It is on that principle that we proceed. Of course, there is the question of poor children. When we are going to levy rates and fees for these people who are attending schools and colleges, what about promising poor children? Well, for that, as you know, we have a liberal system of scholarships. You go through *the Education Code*,

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and you will find a certain number of scholarships reserved for collegiate education to poor students, and so too for secondary education. And we have set apart an equal number of scholarships for the backward classes. There is a general competition to decide these scholarships; an equal number of scholarships is set apart for the backward classes, so that the case of the poor pupils, whether in higher communities or in backward communities, is very well looked after—I mean a liberal provision has been made for them in *the Education Code* of the State.

And then, as regards vocational instruction. Observations were made in regard to vocational instruction, and emphasis was laid on the importance of this side of education. Here also you see that we are making greater and greater efforts towards the improvement of the vocational side of education, both in our boys' schools as well as girls' schools. We are introducing subjects that are purely of an industrial character. As you know, we have a certain number of High schools where agriculture is being taught. We had graduate teachers sent to Poona for training, and they came back last year after their training, so that we have now got half a dozen High schools where agriculture is being taught. And we take care to see that students who take this subject are those that are likely to make it their vocation in life—that is, students who are sons of agriculturists, sons of land-owners and so on.

And then, industrial subjects, that is weaving, mat-making, smithy, carpentry, rattan, bell-metal, &c.,—all these subjects have been adopted as subjects for instruction in our secondary schools. Of course, it is not possible for us nor is it desirable that we should have all these things in our secondary schools. Now, there is superfluity of literary instruction; we do not want the same kind of superfluity brought about as regards industrial instruction. I mean we want to give industrial instruction only to those to whom it may be useful in after-life.

Then there is also the question of skilled teachers—competent teachers—and we have introduced these subjects only where such teachers are available. Of course, there is special advantage as regards Trichur. There we have got the central institution—the Trades School—so that all the High schools in Trichur can have the benefit of industrial instruction to their pupils in the central school. Even another place, Chalakkudi, has got a workshop in its neighbourhood so that we send a certain number of boys and girls for practical training in the Tramway Workshop. By and by we are developing the indus-

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try of our Trades School here. When that develops, we hope to have the same facility afforded to pupils of the High school in Ernakulam.

And then, as regards girls' education. As regards that, I think we are trying to do what is possible under existing conditions. We have introduced, for instance, weaving as a special subject of study for girls, mat-making and, then, needle-work, embroidery, and last year we introduced housekeeping and nursing. I think no Member of this House would have any doubts as to the usefulness of these subjects which are essential equipments for girls.

President.—Is there not cookery also ?

Mr. C. Matthai.—Yes, Sir. What we did was we selected half a dozen of our lady graduates, and sent them to the General Hospital at Ernakulam, and they are undergoing their course in nursing. And then, after completion of their course, we would post them to all our girls' schools, and in that way training in domestic subjects will be given, as a part of their regular school course. And then, as the Member for Trichur remarked yesterday, we have opened special classes in the Girls' High schools at Trichur. Music is taught as a special subject. For girls having an aptitude for painting, drawing, designing, all these are taught as special subjects, and special teachers are appointed. The Member for Trichur said yesterday that the department was neglecting the Girls' High school at Ernakulam. Well, I shall explain. Sir, the reason is simply this. At Trichur we have got accommodation ; we have removed the primary classes to other buildings, so that plenty of accommodation is available for these special subjects and classes, whereas, at Ernakulam, Members who have visited the Girls' High school would know the congested condition of that school. It is a school attended by more than 600 girls, and the accommodation of that school will hardly suffice for 150. On the other side, just now we heard criticisms about spending lavishly on girls' schools. Well, we want to teach them music, cookery, and physical exercise. They cannot always have physical exercise outside. For that you must give them sufficient room, a building which will provide them with sufficient accommodation. I have carefully considered the whole plan myself with the help of my friend, the Chief Engineer, and we have drawn up a plan which, we think, would just meet the requirements of this growing school. Last year, when Lady Goschen visited Ernakulam, she wanted to have a look at the Girls' High school, and I must confess it was with a feeling of shame that we saw Lady Goschen go into that

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school, and as we expected, she made a remark about the poorness of accommodation of this prosperous High school. Sir, we have been listening to criticisms of two different kinds. I mean, one side says we are neglecting the wishes and requirements of the people of Ernakulam, and other Members say we are spending too much on girls' schools, so that, I suppose, the truth would be about midway.

And then, another point was the small allotment for spinning. The Member for Cranganur and another Member dwelt on the small allotment for spinning. And here there may be some misconception, and perhaps the wording of the head in the budget is misleading. As I said some time ago, we do not want to carry on spinning by expending large sums of money on it. I mean we do not want to make it a losing concern for the State. What we do want is to make the thing, as far as possible, self-supporting. It is not only under the head "Spinning" that we have allotment for this purpose in the budget; there is another head, namely, "Miscellaneous" and under that head also would come contributions towards spinning. But more important than that, what we do is, we are giving advances to our schools, we have increased the permanent advances of these schools, so that they may purchase raw material out of the permanent advances and then make yarn and make cloth, and then realise and pay back the amount. So that the small sum allotted in the budget would not give you any real idea about the extent of the work that is carried on in our schools. As you may have noticed in my report for 1101, we had then 60 schools carrying on this manual activity. That was about four months after the resolution was passed here. To-day I think we have got not less than 200 schools where spinning is carried on at a regular form of manual activity. I have myself seen it—I go to these schools and see how it is carried on, and there are very many schools—High schools, lower secondary schools and primary schools—where in all classes it is carried on. We do not supply *charkas* to all classes. As the Member for Urakam suggested, we ask the children to supply themselves with *taklis*. It was last week that I went to one of the Highschools near this town, and every child was found in possession of a *takli*. The pupil brings it along with his books, and during the hour of manual work he takes out his *takli* and spins away. We do not sell yarn as such. What we try to do is to take to one school which is supplied with a loom or a couple of looms, all the yarn of the surrounding schools, and there it should be converted into cloth. It is a very big school that I visited last week, they had a couple of looms and yarn was converted into cloth in the school itself.

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That is a much more satisfactory arrangement, very much better than for the department to undertake the supply of raw cotton and then take charge of the yarn and cloth and the selling of them. That should be an unwieldly arrangement. This works very well. So far as we have seen, it works smoothly, and our object is gained.

And then, as regards the Girls' Industrial School Music Examination. The Member for Vellarappalli made some observations about the music examination in the Girls' Industrial Schools. Well, we had already anticipated this criticism. We are just now revising our rules regarding the Girls' Industria School Music Examination. What we are going to do now is to conduct a Lower Grade Examination in the Industrial School itself. We have opened special classes in the school at Trichur, so that those who pass the Lower Grade Industrial Examination at Trichur are taken to the Girls' school to be trained for the higher certificate. These will teach in the High schools, and the others will teach in the primary schools. We have already met that criticism.

Then, as regards village libraries. A suggestion was made regarding village libraries. You may remember, Sir, that I made some suggestions some months ago, and Government have approved of my scheme. We are going to make an experiment. We are going to start them in four villages. We have chosen school-houses for better safety, as the teachers themselves could help the department in carrying on the work of the library. That also has been accepted by the Government.

Then, as regards unfed children in schools. The Member for Urakam dwelt upon the large percentage of unfed children in the St. Thomas' High School. That is a matter that has long been engaging the attention of the department. In fact, when the Medical Officers come for inspection to our schools, they say that children do not suffer from diseases so much as from malnutrition. It is very difficult to find a solution for this. We were at one time feeding the children of the depressed classes. But even that we had to give up. And then, there are the other poor people. There are many of them even outside the depressed classes. It is, no doubt, a very pitiable circumstance that half-starved children are attending our schools. As for measures of relief, well, I can cite an instance. I visited one of our Malayalam schools near Mulanturutti a fortnight ago, and there I found that the teachers with the help of the Co-operative Society and the Village Panchayat had made a certain arrangement. During the months of Mithunam and Karkadagam, at mid-day, all the children—not merely of the depressed classes but all children—

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who want food are fed, and this is how they manage. One of the *Pramanis* of the village undertakes the feeding on a particular day. There is a vacant shed there, and that particular gentleman brings food-stuffs and vessels, and then gives a feeding to the children. Out of 250 children attending the school, about 100 were fed on the day I visited, and so, in that way, they have arranged for the whole of the months of Mithunam and Karkadagam. That is a great relief to the poor people who cannot get work in these months. That, I think, is one of the ways in which we can get over this difficulty.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Where is the place?

Mr. C. Matthai.—In Kanayannur.

I mentioned this as one of the means. By means of public co-operation and local co-operation these difficult problems can be solved. In regard to these matters, if we have the help of the Hon'ble Members on the other side and of other charitable gentlemen, I think we shall be able to find some kind of remedy. That is all that can be done. I do not know, if Government can undertake to carry on this very difficult business all over the State. But we shall encourage our teachers to go into the villages and do what they can in this matter.

And then, about the depressed classes

President.—You see, Mr. Matthai, there are other official Members to speak, and the time we have at our disposal is limited. You can speak more about it at the time of the discussion of cut motions.

Mr. K. Govinda Menon.—Sir, the Finance Member in his budget speech on Monday remarked as follows:—"I think I have now been able to convince this House in a way as to the necessity of the provision made under "Forests" and "Tramway" for 1103, and I hope that they will find their way to pass the whole amount. If the members still entertain any doubt on the question, I am sure that my friend, the Member for Forests, will be able, when his turn comes, to present an irresistable case in defence of the policy adumbrated above, which it is not in my province to go into in further details." I am afraid, Sir, that the Finance Member has overestimated my abilities, but I will try to justify his expectations. My consolation is that my case is a strong one.

I will request the Members now to traverse with me through a labyrinth of figures. I will, therefore, place before you the results of the workings of the Forest and Tramway Departments for the years 1101 and 1102 and leave you to draw your own conclusions on their future.

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1101 Revenue.

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	The total Forest revenue for the year 1101 is	4,65,098	0	0
2.	The revenue in Forest Produce brought down by the Tramway line and sold in 1101	2,39,401	10	2
3.	To this has to be added—			
a.	Sale amount of elephants in the O. W. C. sub-division.	1,500	0	0
b.	Sale amount of ivory got from the O. W. C. sub-division	2,816	0	0
c.	Minor Forest produce amounts	600	0	0
d.	Tramway private transport revenue	11,028	0	0
	Total Rs.	2,55,345	10	2
4.	Revenue therefore from produce which does not depend upon the existence of the Tramline	2,09,752	5	10

Expenditure

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Total expenditure of the Forest Department for 1101	1,86,069	0	0
2.	Expenditure on Forest Produce brought down by the Tramline	61,312	12	7
3.	To this has to be added—			
a.	Cost of elephant capturing operations	5,314	0	1
b.	Maintenance of buildings	196	13	0
c.	Rewards on ivory	196	5	6
d.	Tramway Maintenance	1,69,814	0	0
e.	Tramway dispensary	1,560	14	4
f.	Permanent and temporary staff of the O. W. C. Sub-division and Chalakkudi *Tanah*	5,052	0	0
g.	Proportionate supervision charges	15,051	7	9
	Total Rs.	2,58,498	5	3
	Net result of working of the Forests tapped by the Tramway line is minus Rs.	3,152	11	11

Rightly speaking, in my opinion, the supervision charges of Rs. 15,051—7—9 should not be debited to the above expenditure; for, if the working of the forests of the O. W. C. sub-division is stopped, and the Tramline ceases to exist, the supervision charges admit of no reduction at all. Only the staff stationed in the O. W. C. sub-division and costing of Rs. 5,052—0—0 admit of reduction. If, therefore, no debit is made for the supervision charges, the total expenditure to be debited towards the working of the forests of the O. W. C. sub-division will be Rs. 2,43,446—13—6. The net result will then be plus Rs. 11,898—12—8.

Though at present the sale depots of Ernakulam and Chalakkudi deal only with forest produce brought down from the forests of the O. W. C. sub-division, I have not debited expenditure of these two depots to the O. W. C. forests for the fact that the Ernakulam depot existed long before the working of the O. W.

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C. forests was thought of and had to deal with the forest produce brought down from Kodasseri and Palappilli forests, and the Chalakkudi depot was originally at Trichur which was stopped with the closing of the Paravattani forests, as I would show below. The Chalakkudi depot will have eventually to be shifted to Trichur.

From the above it will be seen that the revenue from forests other than those of the O. W. C. sub-division for the year 1101 is Rs. 2,09,752—5—10, and the expenditure incurred thereof is Rs. 1,33,436—12—6, not debiting supervision charges to the O. W. C. forests. The net result, therefore, is plus Rs. 76,315—9—4.

I will now lay before you the net result of working of the Forests and Tramway Departments for the year 1102.

1102—Revenue

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Total revenue of the Forest Department for 1102 will be	5,38,800	0	0
2. Revenue from Forests of the O. W. C. sub-division	2,93,253	5	5
3. To this has to be added			
a. Sale amount of minor forest produce	900	0	0
b. Cost of ivory sold	123	1	10
c. Tramway private transport revenue	30,000	0	0
Total	3,24,276	7	3
4. Revenue, therefore, from produce which does not depend upon the existence of the Tramline is	21,523	8	9

Expenditure.

	Rs.		
1. Total expenditure of the Forest Department for 1102.	1,98,200	0	0
2. Expenditure in O. W. C. sub-division on forest produce.	73,185	7	5
3. To this has to be added			
a. Cost of elephant capturing operations	4,808	0	0
b. Maintenance of buildings.	140	0	0
c. Rewards on ivory.	52	15	9
d. Tramway maintenance charges.	1,28,500	0	0
e. Tramway dispensary	1,603	0	0
f. Permanent and temporary staff of the O. W. C. sub-division and Chalakkudi *Tanah*	5,016	3	6
g. Proportionate supervision charges	15,051	7	9
Total	2,28,357	3	7
Net result of working of the forests tapped by the Tramline is plus	95,919	3	8

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As was done for the year 1101, if supervision charges are not included in the above the total expenditure, will be Rs. 2,13,305-11-0, and the net result will be Rs. 11,09,070-11-5.

It will have been gathered from the above that the revenue from forests other than those of the O. W. C. sub-division is Rs. 2,14,523—8—9, and the expenditure incurred thereof is Rs. 1,13,394—4—2, not debiting supervision charges to the O. W. C. forests. The net result, therefore, is Rs. 1,01,129—4—7. In the net result for 1101 of Rs. 76,315—9—4, and for 1102 of Rs. 1,01,129—4—7, of forests not dependent on the Tramline is included a sum of Rs. 42,063—5—0, for 1101 and Rs. 31,960-0 8, for 1102 from the sale of forest growth from exclusions made for assignment purposes. These are not normal revenues. This state of things will continue for 3 or 4 years more, after which the normal net revenue of the department will go down, assuming that, in the meanwhile, the workings of the forests of the O. W. C. sub-division had been stopped.

The forests of Machad and Paravattani, having been overworked prior to 1080 to find funds for the Tramway construction, had been ordered to be closed for about 30 years from 1085 for the extraction of all standing trees except with the special sanction of the Government. As the Member for the Jewish Constituency has remarked, the Conservator's axe had been ruthlessly laid at the root of trees prior to 1085. But no civilised country on that account left the forests to grow by themselves and abolished the Forest Department. The greater the mistake committed at one time, the greater the necessity for a rigid forest conservancy and the department to enforce it. The period of their closure extends up to 1,115. In the interval working plans have to be framed for these, and they may be put under improvement fellings. Such plans have been framed for the Machad forests already, and they have been brought under their prescriptions. The improvement felling period may extend for about 2 cycles comprising each of 20 to 25. During this period the removal of only such growth as will better the condition and hence enhance the capital value of the forests will be allowed. Revenue realisation will not be considered at all. It may be predicted now that, during the improvement felling period and till the forests put under them come to a normal state, expenditure will be more than and revenue less than what it is now. We may have to work with a deficit even, we have only just begun our forest conservancy. It will be pertinent here to lay before you the working results of the Madras Forest Department for the years 1922 to 1923 and 1923 to 1924. They had begun their conservancy there rigidly many years ago.

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1922—1923.

	Revenue.	*Expenditure.*
1st Circle	5,40,426	5,91,920
2nd ,,	7,52,310	6,53,371
3rd ,,	6,91,975	6,89,349
4th ,,	10,58,972	5,78,135
5th ,,	12,40,307	7,68,605
6th ,,	9,24,238	10,52,595
19,064 Sq. miles.	52,08,228	43,33,975

1923—1924.

1st Circle	6,40,230	5,00,524
2nd ,,	8,16,978	6,33,961
3rd ,,	6,98,029	6,51,427
4th ,,	10,24,937	5,35,781
5th ,,	12,40,307	7,68,605
6th ,,	8,25,248	9,11,406
18,956 Sq. miles	52,46,729	40,01,704

I am sorry to lay before you the above pessimistic view, but the truth must be told. The Member for Chalakkudi had remarked that the forests were worked to depletion. The Member for Cranganur had also made a similar remark. I regret to subscribe to the above views, but with the proviso that the forests which were so worked are only those tapped by the Tramline and none more. The Tramline was introduced to take out all valuable timber available in the forests tapped by it, and it is but justifiable, though opposed to all principles of forestry, that these forests should be worked heavily before the Tramline is scraped away.

In the case of forests not tapped by the Tramline, they had been overworked prior to 1085 to find funds for the construction of the Tramline. Mistakes in forestry committed in a few days' time take years to rectify. Ages of trees are counted in decades and centuries.

In conclusion, I leave it to you to decide whether we should stop the Forest-Tramway forthwith, or whether we should continue to work it as long as we do not incur any real loss. In striking profit and loss, we should debit against it and against the working of the forests tapped by it only such items of expenditure as should inevitably be incurred and not other items as are indispensable for the running of the department, irrespective of the existence of the Tramline. I do not for a moment assert that the Tramline could be maintained for ever for the transport and disposal with profit of forest produce alone. It should also be borne in mind that a good market for timber will give a

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good profit, but a slump affects it adversely. It is hoped that the transactions of 1103 will give better results than those of 1102. I am taking minute stock of valuable timber that still remains to be extracted from the forests tapped by the Tramline; and I hope to be able to place before you definite figures sometime in the course of a year. It cannot be foreseen now that something will not turn up in the near future to ensure permanency to the Tramline. In this connection, I grieve to say that the Annamalai transport had been surveyed through Travancore territory. In spite of it, I am still hopeful.

President.—Now, we shall rise.

The Council adjourned at 5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Secretary to the Council.

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